

CICERO

AGAINST

Catiline,
Manduca *Fabius*

IV. *Invective Orations.*

Containing the whole manner of
discovering that Notorious
CONSPIRACY.

Done into English

By CHRISTOPHER WASE

Id. Cic. — *Concedat Laurea Lingue.*

Plin. lib. 7. cap. 3. in fine.

*Salve primus omnium Parēns Patrīm appellātus, pri-
mus in *toga triumphum*, linguisque lauream meriti
& facundia Latinarūque literarū Parēns, et
(ut Dic̄tor C̄esar bōbis quondam rux de se servit)
omnium triumphorum lauream adop̄it mag-
rem, quanto plus est ingenii Romani terminos in-
taknum promovisse, quam imperii.*

L O N D O N ,

Printed by T. N. for Samuel Lowndes over against
Exeter House in the Strand. 1671.

CHIEF

AGAINST

GASTLITZINGE

I H

VI. Message of Our Lord.

Commission who made a mandate of
discovery of the Monarchs
CONSPIRACY

Done into English

At V. A. M. D. G. T. Y. E. S. E.

II. Of the secret societies of the
Philippines, &c. &c. &c. &c.
Says the secret society of the
Philippines, &c. &c. &c. &c.
That they have been
secretly plotting against the
Government of the Philippines
and the Government of the
Philippines, &c. &c. &c. &c.
That they have been
secretly plotting against the
Government of the Philippines
and the Government of the
Philippines, &c. &c. &c. &c.

A. O. N. D. O. M.

The secret society of the Philippines
and the Government of the Philippines
and the Government of the Philippines

To the Worshipful
JOSEPH WILLIAMSON

Esquire, Secretary to the Right Honourable
the Lord ARLINGTON (Principal
Secretary of State), Keeper of His Majesties
Papers of State, and a Member of the Ho-
nourable House of Commons in Parliament.

THIS small Essay does in Justice and Gratitude address it self to your Hands, being the Product of a few Spare-hours while I was conversant about some Occasions of yours, which time you were pleas'd to express that you put to your Account, while employ'd to my own Benefit. Of what prodigious Parts this Author was, and indefatigable in

dustry, how grave a Senator, how profound a Politician, how uncorrupt a Magistrate; it needs not that I tell you; nor whether as Tully is worthily reckoned the Chief of Orators, is these Consular Invectives may not be esteem'd the very Flower of all his Orations. My part is, because I am conscious how hardly those advantages can be discern'd through a gross and cloudy Translation, to find out a Competent Judge of such labours, and a favourable Advocate to excuse the insuperable defects in rendering Languages, each by other, which are often inadequate, and in signification, credit, phrase, variety, incomensurable one with the other. Spirits that are

most delicious, we find to be most volatile, and hardly endure the transpor-
tation. Patterns may be with less diffi-
culty match'd for the Cloth than the
Colours. ~~Tally~~ however cannot be
so easily handled, but an artificial
Method, strong Arguments, and di-
vers Figures both of Wprds and Sen-
tence will discover a sound Constitu-
tion. The Change of Customs,
Different Laws and Humors may
somewhat darken the Complexion:
Yet my hope is through all will be
~~discern'd~~ ~~Tally~~, But why do I flatter
my self to think that you can find lea-
sure from publick and weighty Busi-
ness, to arbitrate in these Scholastick
and lighter Speculations? Therefore
having first begg'd that your prudent
and

JESV W. A. B.

179 Mr. Dedicatory.

and painful endeavours may be still
successful and accepted to the acquiring
new Talents, which you so
faithfully improve; and for my self
requesting to hold such place in your
esteeems, as a mind ever studious to
be truly thankful, may render me
capable of, I take leave to remain

SIR,

Your humble Servant

and Honorer

CHR. WASE.

Some Ancient Testimonies concerning these Orations.

Cic. in Orat. de se ipso. A nobis homo
audacissimus Catilina in Senatu accusa-
tus obmutuit.

Sal in Conj. Cat. Tum M. Tullius Con-
sul, sive presentiam ejus timens, fide ira
commotus orationem habuit luculentam asque
utilem Recip. quam postea scriptam edidit.

C. Velleius Paterculus. lib. 2. c. 34. Catilina
metu consularis imperii urbe pulsus est.

Plin. l. 7. c. 30. Sed quo te M. Tulli piet-
culo raseam? - Tum Catilina fugit inge-
nium.

Quintil. lib. 2. c. 17. Annon divina M.
Tullii Ciceronis eloquentia, - Catilinae frigis
audaciam?

Mart. Dixerat O Mores, O Tempora Tu-
lius olim

Sacrilegum fruere cum Catilina nefas.

The

AMONGST O' CLEARY'S PAPERS
**The Contents of the Four ensuing
Orations, wherein the
Consul**

I. Adviseth Catiline, then present in the
Senate, to forbear the Town.

II. Encourages the People, by extenuating
the Forces of the Rebels, and reclaiming
the secret Complices.

III. Reports to the People the particulars of
the discovery of the Plot, with the Ar-
raignment and Conviction of the Con-
spirators at the Bar of the House.

IV. Puts it to the Question, What is the
Houses pleasure concerning the Pri-
-uers, &c.

The
1672



The First ORATION

Made in Against

CATILINE,

made in the SENATE.

The Argument.

In the year after the Founding of Rome
DC^o, Lucius Sergius Catilina, a
Nobleman of Rome, of excellent Endowments both of Body and Mind,
but deprav'd through ill habits; having
been train'd up under the Usurper Sulla,
and through his whole time practis'd
in Acts of great Licentiousness, stood
with many other Competitors for the
Consulship; but was accused of Cor-
ruption and miss'd it, Marcus Tullius
Cicero and Caius Antonius being cho-
sen. Whereupon he entred into a dan-

B gerous

The First Oration

gerous Conspiracy of raising a Civil War, cutting off the Principal of the Senate, and Firing the City. On the VI. and VII. of November in the Nights were held secret Councils with the chief Conspirators, at the House of one M. Lecca a Roman Senator; where, among other particulars concluded for the carrying on the Design, two Knights then present, undertook early that Morning, under colour of a Visit, to kill Tully in his Bed: But he was immediately advis'd of this imminent danger from Q. Curius a false Brother, by Fulvia, and that attempt frustrated. The same day, being the VIII. of November, the Consul calls a Senate in the Temple of Jupiter Stator, within the Tower of Rome; where met also Catiline, either to palliate the matter, or purge himself: Upon sight of whom, Cicero being stirr'd betwixt Fear and Anger, stood up, and thus bespoke him:

I. **H**ow long, Catiline, will you abuse our patience? How long shall that fury of yours,

hector

hector down even us too? To what bound shall your unbridled Audaciousness fly out? Has the Night-Guard of the Palace nothing daunted you? Nothing the Watches about the City? Nothing the Fears and Jealousies of the People? Nothing the Concourse of all the honest able Men? Nothing the holding the Senate in this place of strength? Do the looks and faces of all these in presence nothing at all dash you? Are not you aware that all your Plots are discovered? Are not you advised, that your Conspiracy is palpably known to all here? What you resolved upon last Night, what the Night before, where you were, who were in your *Functa*, of what Debates passed between you, who of us do you think is not fully informed?

2. Oh what times! what a world

B 2

do

The First Oration

do we live in! All this the Senate
understands, the Consul sees, yet
this fellow lives, lives Land comes
into the House, is present at the
Publick Council, marks with his
eyes and designs each one of us
for slaughter: Mean-while We,
Couragious Men, think we have
discharged our duty to the State,
if we can shift his weapons and fu-
ry. Long since, *Catinus*, thou
should'st have been led by the
Consuls Order to Execution, upon
on thine own head should have
been turn'd that destruction which
thou hast been so long contriving
against all of us.

3. Could that most honoura-

(a) Much of
the divisions
in the Popu-
lar State of
Rome, was
about a Levelling the State, in such sort as that the over-wealthiness of some Grandees, and extream indigence of the Ge-
nerality, might be taken away, and a middle Proportion of
Estates, the very soul of Democracy, might be establish'd:

against CATILINE.

3

to support Marriage and enable to Wansere two great Instruments of Empire. To effect this, C. Licinius Stolo procur'd a Law, limiting each Citizen within the possession of 500 Acres; and also to a sete of great and small Castle and Servants to keep them. But as this Law was above 120 years e'r it could be obtain'd, so within less than 200 years it was undermin'd and quite overthrown; and all Italy found ingrossed into the Hands of a few Lords, who less'd it out to slaves and Barbarians. This mischief C. Lelius sought first redress, but was wrought off by the Wealthy Party, and thereby acquir'd the Title of the Wise. Then Tiberius Gracchus undertook the reviving of it, with the Advice of Crassus the High-Priest, Mucius Scævola the Eminent Lawyer, then Consul, and Appius Claudius his Father-in-Law; upon most moderate conditions, not of restor'g the Lands illegally held and refunding the mean profits, but of parting with them for a valuable consideracion, to their poor Fellow-Citizens (himself, his Father-in-Law Appius Claudius, and his Brother C. Gracchus being Foyn Commissioners for the dividing those Lands.) and contenting themselves with 500 Acres, and their Children with half as much. Yet in the very publishing of it, he was taken off, as was suppos'd, by Scipio Nasica, who was, through the envy of the Fact, fain to retire from his Country.

slay Tib. Gracchus, when he did but lightly shake the State of the Government : And shall We, Consuls, tamely endure Catiline, striving to lay the World desolate with Fire and Sword ? To pass by those instances of an old date, that

Quintus Servilius Ahala flew with

(b) Sp. Melius for distributing Corn to the Commons in time of great Dearth, fell under suspicion of affecting a Supremacy : Hereupon Qu. Cincinnatus is made Dictator, or Protector, and Captain General ; (an Officer not appointed but in time of great fear, and to continue but Six Months.) he nominates Q. Servilius Ahala his Lieutenant General or Magister Equitum ; who summoning Sp. Melius, upon his non-appearance before him, sent and stab'd him.

(b) *Sprinus Melius*, when he went about to alter the Government. There has, there has been in Times of Old, such Courage in the State, that Men of Valour have restrained a dangerous Citizen, with more severe punishment than the most violent

Enemy. We have now too made against you, *Catiline*, a strict and grave Act of Senate. The State wants not advice, nor this House resolution. We, I must speak boldly, We Consuls, are wanting in the Execution.

4 The Senate once made an

(c) An Order, That *Lucius Opinius* (c) the Consul should see that the safety of the

against CATILINE.

7

the Common-Wealth should not be molested. One Night did not pass over his head, but (d) *Caius Gracchus*, descended of a most Noble Father, Grandfathers, Ancestors, was slain upon some suspicion of Factiousness; *Marcus Fulvius*, a Consular Person, was slain, and all his Children, by a like Act of Senate. The security of the State was committed to *C. Marius* and *L. Valerius* the Consuls. Did the Government respite *L. Saturninus*, Tribune of the Commons, and *C. Scri-*

Common-wealth. Hereby was committed to the Consuls a Power of levying War and executing Martial Law upon Citizen or Ally, not allow'd but in case of extreme danger.

(d) *C. Gracchus* carry'd on the design of his Brother and among other Laws, that of dividing the Lands of Conquest; himself, *M. Fulvius Flaccus* and *Papirius Carbo* being Joint-Commissioners: the two former were slain by Order of *L. Opinius*, and the Son of *M. Fulvius* sent to intercede for his Father, being a comely and brawful youth, when sent back, with charge of coming no more, returning, by his Fathers order was cruelly kill'd in prison, having never bore Arms. *L. Opinius* was after upon some occasion condemn'd and banisht.

vilius Praetor, one day from punishment? But We now have left the edge of Authority to grow

B 4

blunt

blunt these twenty dayes ; for we yet
have a like Act of Senate , but ex-
shut up in Tables , as a Sword ly-
ing in the Scabbard ; by which Act
of Senate , *Catiline* , you should
have been immediately executed .
You live , and that not to abandon ,
but to fortifie your boldness . I be-
desire , my Lords , to be merciful , ha-
I desire withal not to be thought care-
less in so imminent dangers of be-
the Common-wealth . But now I sa-
begin to condemn my self of sloth
and cowardliness .

5. There is a Leagure in *Italy* for
against the State , pitched at the
Entrance into *Tuscany* , the num-
ber of the Enemy increases day by
day ; but the Commander of that
Leagure , and the General of those
Enemies , we see within the Walls ,
nay , in the very Senate ; daily plot-
ting some destruction against the
State . If , *Catiline* , I should now order
you

against CATILINE.

9

for we you to be apprehended , if , to be
but executed , I think I should have
ly reason to fear , least all honest
A& men , should rather say , this was
ould done too late by me ; then that any
ted . Should say it was too cruelly done :
ion , But for a certain reason I do for-
I bear that , which long since should
iful , have been performed : Then will I
ight take thee off , when as no one shall
s of be found so impudent , so desperate ,
ow I so like thy self , as not to confess it
oth justly done .

6. As long as there shall be any
one that dares justify you , you
shall live ; but so , as now you do ,
hemmed in by me with many and
strong Guards , as not to be able to
stir against the Common-wealth .
Many Eyes , and Ears too , that
you are a little aware of , as hither-
to they have , shall spy and watch
your Actions . *Catiline* , What
would you have more , if neither
night

night can shrowd in its darkness, your wicked Cabals? Not a private House within its walls, these words of your Conspiracy? If also come to light, all break forth, change then that mind, be ruled by me, do not think of Slaughter and Burning, you have hands upon you on all sides; all your foul Plots are as open as the day, which eat you may recollect with me.

7. Do you remember that I should say in the Senate on the One and twentieth of October, that, *On a certain day would be in Arms* (which day was to be the 25th of the same) *Caius Manlius, the Executioner and Instrument of your Treason.* You Catiline, was I mistaken, not only in a thing, so great, so furious, so incredible; but what is much more strange, in the very day. I said him in the House too, that, *You had of pitched the 28th of the said Month,* receiving for

against CATILINE.

ii

ness or the assassinating of the Nobles; at what time many Principal Men thereof the State left the Town, notwithstanding all so much for their own preservation, as to suppress your designs: Can you deny on that very day enough that you was so penn'd up by my Friends Guard and diligence, that you could not stir to prejudice the Commonwealth; when you said, though the rest were gone, *The killing of that Ins that remained, would serve your One turn?*

8. What when as you were so confident you could surprise Praetor by an assault in the night, on the very first of November? Did you observe that that Colony was held by my Order secured with Guards so of mine to watch and ward there? You act, you plot, you think no bad thing, but what I not onely hear had of, but see too, and plainly perceive. Recall to memory with me

me the other night, and you will
find, that I am much more intelli-
gently vigilant, for the preservation
than you for the destruction of the
State. I say, that the night be-
fore last, you came among the
Vine-dressers, I must speak plain
to the house of *Marcus Læcta*, that my
very many Abettors of your fun-
and treachery, had their meeting
there; Dare you deny it? Why
do not you speak? I will make
appear, if you deny it; for I see
(e) some here in the Senate that
were there with you.

(e) *Salust*
reckons up
xi Senators
of the Con-
spiracy, Len-
tulus, An-
tonius, Lon-
ginus, Ce-
thegus, P. &
Ser. Sulla,
Vargunteius,
Annius, Lec-
ca, Bestia, &
Curius.

9. Immortal Gods! wherea-
boots are we? What a Govern-
ment have we? In what City do
we live? In this, this very place
are some, of our own House, my
Lords, of this most Venerable
and Grave Council of all the
World, which project my ruin
and all yours, together with the
destruction

u w destruction of this City and the
rea Empire of the World. These
tio persons, I that am Consul, be-
f th hold, and take their Votes about
t be the Government; and those that
th should have been cut off by the
lain word; I do not yet wound with
tha my words. You were then, Catil-
line, at Læcta's house that night;
erin you divided Italy into Posts, you
Wh appointed every one which way it
ke was concluded he should march; you
I se selected whom to leave at Rome;
tha and whom to carry with your self; you
re divided the federal parts, at
verm which the City was to be fired; you
d gave assurance you would speedily
ace leave the Town; only, you said,
m One petty business, that is, my being
able alive, stayed your Journey. There
th were (f) two Roman Knights
ui presentely replied, They would re-
theus. Appian. Sallust joins with C. Cornelius, L. Var-
thegius, Appian. Salust joins with C. Cornelius, L. Var-
guntius, but him he had nominated as a Senator before.

(f) C. Cor-
nelius Sulla
and M. Ce-

move

The First Oration

move that obstruction, and promised they would that very night, a little before day kill me in my Bed.

I was informed of all this full as soon as your Company who have broke up, and secured and guarded so my house the better; kept on dangerous those that you sent in the morning the 20. to give me a Visit, having before not told several persons that such would per come at the very same time. Which plot things being so, Catiline, holded the course you have begun, goe Publ you out of Town at length; the dili Gates are open; take your Journey. That Army of Mantis have does too long want you to head it other to carry out all your Complices with you, at least as many as may be therid the City, you will deliver me from much fear, so there be but one Wall between you and me. You cannot no longer continue among Us, you will not bear it, I will not suffer it, I will not endure it.

11. Great

against CATILINE. 13

II. Great thanks be to the Immortal Gods, and particularly to Jupiter Stator, the most ancient and Guardian of this City, that we have so often already escaped this curse so villainous, so dreadful, and so dangerous a plague to the State; and the safety of the Government must not any more be hazarded in one person. As long, *Catiline*, as you plotted against me, Consul Elect, I secured my self, not by any Publick Guard, but my private diligence. When as at the last Consular Election, you would have slain me the Consul and your other Competitors in the Field; I dashed your wicked attempts, by the assistance and strength of my friends, without giving any alarm to the Publick: In a word, as often as you struck at me, I opposed you by mine own interest; nay though I saw, that my destruction was

The First Oration

was inseparable from the great affliction of the State.

But now with open face, you strike at the whole State, you bid thin and desolation to the Temples of the Immortal Gods, to the Buildings of the City, to the life of all the Citizens: In summe, to all Italy. Wheterever, since I dare not execute that which were principally to be done, and is proper to this Empire, and the severity of our Ancestors, I will do that which is more gentle, as to censure; more useful, as to the publick safety. For if I should order you to be slain, the relicks of your Complices would still stick in the Common-wealth: But if you, which I frequently advise you to, shall march off, a great and dangerous sink in the State, of your Comrades, shall be drained out.

now

13. What's

13. What's the matter, *Catiline*? Do you make any question to do that at my Order, which you were before a doing of your own accord? The Consul commands an Enemy to go out of Town, Do you ask, *Whether to Banishment?* I do not command you. But if you ask my Counsel, I advise you; For what is there, *Catiline*, which can any longer be pleasing to you in the City? wherein there is none, bating that Gang of desperate Conspirators, but fears you; none but hates you.

(g) What mark of domestical baseness has not been branded up on your life? What private disgrace does not asperse your Name? Have your Eyes ever been refrain'd from any lust? your Hands from any attempt, or any villany from your whole body? What young man is there by your pleasures in-

reported to have marry'd her that was judg'd his Daughter, to have kill'd his Brother, and got him after he was dead excepted from pardon.

Cato vragled,

The First Oration

veagled, whom you have not furnished, either with a weapon to boldness or with an incentive to lust?

(h) He is
imply'd to
have made a-
way his first
Wife, so
make room
for Aurelia
Orestilla; 3
whom, be-
cause she did
not like to
have a grown
Step-son, he
is also recor-
ded to have
gratifi'd
with the re-
questing him al-
so off out of
the way.

14. For example, newly (h) when by the death of your former Wife, you had made house room for a second match, did you not by that villany add another incredible villainy? which I pass by, and am well content should be wrapt up in silence, least such an inhumane act should have been thought to have had being, or not to have been avenged under this Government. I pass by the decay of your Estate, all which you will find to hang over your head next Quarter-day. I come to those points, which do not concern the private reproach of your Vices, nor the necessitousness and baseness of your Family; but do more nearly relate unto the well-being of the State, and the life and safety of us all.

15. Can

15. Can it be delightful to you,
Catiline, to behold the light of this
 world, and to draw the breath of
 this air, when as you know, there
 is none of these present, that is
 not informed that (i) the day be-
 fore New-years-day, *Lepidus* and
Tullus being Consuls, you(k) wore
 Arms in the Assembly, that you
 had got a Crew together to kill
 the Consuls and Nobles; that no
 good meaning of yours, nor yet
 fear; but the fortune of the Com-
 mon-wealth, hindred your trea-
 son and rage: But I pass by those
 things, as neither obscure, nor long
 since committed. How often
 would you have killed me, when
 designed, how often since entred,

which had been effected, had not Catiline been over-forward
 to give the word, before all the Conspirators were met toge-
 ther: this was two years past, and is call'd his former Con-
 spiracy.

(k) It was forbidden to wear Arms in the Place of As-
 sembly, in the Judgment Halls, and in the Senate,

1600

C 2

upon

(i) When
L. Torquatus
 and *L. Cotta*
 design'd Con-
 suls, were to
 enter upon
 their Office,
L. Catiline,
P. Antronius, and *C. Pi-
 so*, about the
 5th of De-
 cember con-
 spir'd to kill
 them; after-
 wards they
 put it off to
 the 5th of the
 following
 February,
 what time
 they com-
 bin'd not on-
 ly to kill the
 Consuls, but
 most of the
 Senators;

upon the Consulship; How many
passes of yours, so made, that they
seemed unavoidable, have I put by
by a slight turn, and as the word
is, with the motion of my body:
You plot, you pursue, you con-
trive nothing, but I have timely
notice of it; and yet for all that,
you will never give over working
and designing.

16. How many, many times
already has that Dagger been
wrung out of your hands! How
often by some casualty dropt and
slipt down, yet you cannot for
your life be without it, which
Dagger, under what Vow and
Consecration it is, I know not,
that you should have such a super-
stition, that it must needs be stuck
up for a Monument in the Consuls
heart. But now, what life do you
lead: for I will so deal with you,
not as though I were moved with
anger,

anger, as I have reason, but with compassion, as you have no reason to expect. You came even now into the Senate, did any one of this great Company of so many friends and acquaintance of yours, do you any reverence? If such a thing as this never happened to any in the memory of man, do you wait for them to speak out their indignation, when you are already cast by the grand consent of their frellence? Nay at your coming in, great room was made for you; farther, all the Consular Persons, who had been oftentimes designed by you for slaughter, so soon as you sate down, sate them farther from you, leaving that part of the Seats bare and empty.

17. How do you think that is to be taken by you? Truly if my Servants were in such fear of me, as your Fellow Citizens stand in dread

The First Oration

of you, I should think fit to quit my House: Do not you so think it fit to quit the Town? And if I saw my self under so great suspicion and displeasure of my Countreymen, though unjustly, I would rather withdraw my self out of their sight, than be under their continual frowns. And do you, when your Conscience must tell you, that you have incurred the just and long deserved hatred of all, make any scruple to avoid their sight and presence, whose very souls and hearts you break? Suppose your Parents were afraid of, and fallen out with you, and you could by no means recover their favour, I conceive you would retire some whither out of their sight. Now your Countrey, which is the common Parent of us all, hates and fears you, and judges of you, that for this great while, you unnaturally

rally contrive nothing but treason against her. Will you neither reverence her Authority ? nor be guided by her Direction ? nor stand in fear of her Power ?

18. Which, Catiline, thus addresses to you, and in a manner, thus silently be-speaks you ; There has been no violence for these many years past, but by your abettment ; no lewdness but by your contrivance ; you are the onely man, that have carried away free and unpunished the murders (l) of many Citizens ; you, (m) the vexation and plundering of the Allies ; you have not been onely so great as to fight the Laws and Judgements, but also to pervert and the City, beyond the Bridge, to the other.

(l) T. pass
by those of
lesser marks,
he flew of
those in the
Black Book
of Sulla, L.
Cacilius, M.
Volumnius,
L. Tanusius,
and M. Mar-
tius, Gratia-
nianus, one
dear to the
People and
intimate
with Tully,
whose reck-
ing head and
full of spi-
rits, he car-
ried in his
hand to Sul-
la, from the
one end of

(m) When L. Catiline was Chief Justice in the Province of Africa, he so pillag'd the subject, that he was accus'd of Bribery by Clodius, whom he so corrupted, that he shamefully betray'd the Cause, and so came off ; again being indicted of Murder, for his many slaughters in the Action of Sulla, by the favour of the Nobility, who favour'd Sulla, he was clear'd.

The First Oration

break through them. Your former Actions, although not to be born with, yet I digested as well as I could: but now, that I should be all over in a fright for your openly sake; that at the least stir Catiline should be suspected: no Plot can be thought to be laid against me, but through your Treachery, is intollerable: Wherefore withdraw and rid me of this terror; if true, to prevent my destruction; if false, to remove at length my fears.

19. If your Countrey should thus address to you, ought she not to obtain it; although she could not force you? Nay further, you have offered your self into custody; nay, you said, To clear you of all suspicion, you would go dwell with Marcus Lepidus; who not entre-taining you, you had the confidence to come to me, and desired that, I would secure you in my house.

against CATILINE.

25

house. When you had from me
too this Answer, that, I could by
no means be safe with you under the
same roof, that am in great danger,
whilst we are within the same City
wall. You came to Q. Metellus
the Praetor, by whom, when you
were rejected, you took up your
Lodging at your own Comrades,
honest ^{POV} Marcus Marcellus: Him in
good time you took, as one very
careful to watch you, and very
acute to discover you, and very
courageous to punish you. But
how far may he be thought from
Goal and Irons, who judges him-
self worthy of Restraint?

20. Which things being so,
Catiline, do you make any scruple,
if you cannot be contented to die
here, to go into some foreign
place? and to commit that life of
yours, conveyed away from many
due and well deserved punishments,

to

The First Oration

to Exile and Obscurity? Move it, say you, *in the house*, for that is your request; and if the Senate shall vote, you must be banished, you say, you will submit. I will not move it, which is a thing goes much against my disposition; and yet I will so order the matter, that you may so understand the sense of the House concerning you. Catiline, *Go out of the Town*, put the State out of fear, go your way into Banishment, since you look for that word. What is the matter, Catiline? Do you mind? Do you observe the silence of all present? They are contracted, they are still. What, do you expect they should speak and give Order, whose meaning you will know by their silence?

21. But if I had said the same thing, to this worthy young Man, *P. Sextius*, if as much to *Ma. Marcellus*,

against CATILINE. 27

Cellus, a Person of great Valour, the Senate would immediately have laid violent hands, with all the reason in the world, upon me, that am now Consul, in this very Sanctuary, where we are: But for you, *Catiline*, being they are quiet, they give their consent; being they are contented, they vote it: being silent, they proclaim it. Nor onely the Senators, whose Authority it seems is with you ver-
ry dear, their lives cheap; but al-
so those Roman Knights, Men of
great honour and worth, and other
valiant Citizens, which attend at
the Senate, whose number you
might see, and perceive their af-
fections, and even now plainly
hear their very words; whose
hands and weapons for this good
while, I have had much ado to
keep off from you. I can easily
prevail upon them, that if you leave

leave these parts, which you are plotting to ruin, they shall all wait upon you to the City Gates.

22. But wherefore, do I talk, Can any thing daunt you? Can you ever be reformed? That you should ever think of with-drawing; Intend to leave the Town? Would the Immortal Gods would give you such a frame of heart! Although I fore-see, if you upon the terror of these words, should take up a Resolution to go to Banishment, what a storm of Envy would hang over us? Though not so much at the present, whilst the memory of your villanies is fresh, but in after times. But I stand not much upon that, so the Calamity might be your own in particular, and severed from the dangers of the State. But that you should be sensible of your own Vices, or feit the Penalties of the Laws,

Laws, or comply with the necessity of the times, is a thing not to be expected: for, *Catiline*, you are none of those that either shame should keep you back from baseness, fear from hazard, or reason from rage.

23. Wherefore, as I have often said to you before, go your wayes, and if you have a mind, to procure me ill will, *your Enemy*, as you give out, go directly to Banishment. I shall hardly endure the censures of men, if you do so; scarcely stand under the load of that Envy, if you should go into Banishment at the Consuls Order: But if you had rather be instrumental to my praise and glory, march out with your dangerous Crew of Traitors, go straiwayes to *Mantua*, stir up the discontented people, separate your self from the well affected, make War upon your

your Countrey, triumph in your unnatural robberies, that you may be thought not to have been cast out by me among strangers, but invited to your own.

24. But what need I invite you, who I know, have sent some to wait for you in *Forum Averulum*. I know a day is pitched upon and agreed with *Manlius*, by whom I know too that *Silver Eagle*, which I trust will turn to the ruin and confusion of you and all yours, which set in your House was the Chappel of all your Treasons; is sent away. Can you want that Image, which you us'd to pray to, when you went out upon a Murder, from whose Altars you often carry'd your polluted hand to the assassinating of Citizens? Go your wayes at last, whither that unbridled and raging lust of yours has long time hurried you; for this

your occasion does not bring you any
grief , but a kind of incredible
pleasure ; to such sottishness has
but nature bred , your will practis'd ,
and fortune guided you . You ne-
ver longed for , I do not say , Peace ,
but any War , save such as is un-
natural . You have got a party of
lewd persons , not onely lost in
their fortunes , but also in their
hopes . Here , what complacence
will you find ? What joy will you
triumph in ? What pleasure will
you rant in ? when amidst so great
a number of followers , you will
neither hear of an honest man , nor
see one . *Those labours of yours ,*
that are so much cried up , have
been trained to this course of life :
Lying perdue , not onely to watch
a Mistress , but to take a Purse ;
Watchfulness both over the sleep
of married men , and the Estates
of the murdered . You have now

an

The First Oration

an opportunity to shew that your
brave hardiness in hunger, cold,
and want of all things, wherewith
you shall shortly find your self
pinched. I gained so much, what
time I put you from the Consul-
ship, that you might rather in Ba-
nishment attempt, than in the su-
prem Government effect, the
ruin of the State; and that the
thing, which was treasonably by
you undertaken, might rather
bear the Name of Rebellion, than
War.

27. Now, My Lords, That I
may remove, and deprecate from
me, a kind of almost just Com-
plaint of my Countrey, mark I be-
seech you, attentively what I shall
say, and treasure it up faithfully in
your minds and memories: For, if
my Countrey, which is far dearer
to me than my life, if all Italy,
if the whole Common-wealth should

should speak to me, Marcus Tullius, What do you mean? Would you suffer him to go forth, that you know certainly to be a Rebel; that you see will be the General of the War; that you are sensible, is expected as Chief Captain in the Enemies Camp; having been the Contriver of the Treason, the Chief of the Conspiracy, the Raiser of the Slaves and desperate Citizens: that he may be thought not so much let out, as set on the Town? Will not you command him to be put in Irons, to be carried to Execution, to be punished with death?

28. What I pray hinders? Is it the old Custom? Nay often in this State, Persons out of Commission have put dangerous Citizens to death: Or the Laws which have been made about the punishing free Citizens of Rome? But never in this State have those, who revolted

D from

The First Oration

from the Government, preserved
the Priviledges of Freemen. Do
you fear the Envy of Posterity?
Now you fairly require the People of
Rome, who has exalted you, a
Person known for your self only,
without any Commendation of your
Ancestors, so early to the supreme
Magistracy, through all the degrees
of subordinate Offices; if for envy
or the fear of any danger, you neglect
the safety of your Countreymen. But
if there be any fear of Envy, is the
Censure of Severity and Courage
more greatly to be feared than that of
Baseness and Cowardise? Do you
not think, when Italy shall be made
desolate with War, the Cities plun-
dered, the Houses a-fire, you shall
then fall under a flagrant Envy?

29. To these most sacred words
of the State, and the minds of
those men, which are of the same
judgment, I shall answer a word:

Had

Had I, my Lords, Judged it most expedient for *Catiline* to be put to death, I had not allowed that Sword-Player one hours respite to live : For if those most eminent and honourable Patriots were so far from polluting, that they rather ennobled themselves with the bloud of *Saturninus* and the *Gracchi*, and *Flaccus*, and of many others in former times : Truly I have no reason to fear, least this Murderer of the Citizens being slain, any envy should rise against me for the future. But if never so much did hang over me, yet I was alwayes of this Judgment, to think Envy gotten by Virtue to be no Envy but Glory.

30. Although there are some in this House, who either not see what is imminent, or differmble what they see ; who have cherish'd the hopes of *Catiline* with vaine

Votes , and have confirmed the rising Conspiracy , by not believing it : whose Authority many , not onely out of malice , but of simplicity following , had I executed him , would have said , it had been a cruel and tyrannical Act . Now I understand , if he shall arrive , whither he intends at the Camp of *Manlius* , no body will be so foolish , as not to see it was a Plot ; no body so bold as not to confess it : But if he singly was slain , I understand this plague of the State might be a little supprest , but not wholly extinguished : But if he fly out , and carry his party along with him , and gather to the same place all other desperate persons , from every part gleaned up ; not only this too ripe a plague of the Common-wealth will be extinguished and rooted out , but also the very strings and seeds of all mischief .

31. For ,

31. For, my Lords, this great while, are we engaged in the danger, and the snare of this Conspiracy. But now how it comes to pass I know not, the ripeness of all Treasons, and old rage, and boldness, is broke forth in the time of our Consulship. Now if this one person shall be taken off, we shall be thought perhaps relieved of our cares and fears ; but the danger will stick close, and will be locked up in the bowels and veins of the Common-wealth ; as often times men in an acute Sicknes, when they are tossed with heat and feaver, if they drink cold water, seem at first to be eased ; then afterwards, are more grievously and violently afflicted : so this Disease in the Body Politick being abated by his punishment, will return more violently, if the rest be left alive.

D 3

32. Where-

32. Wherefore, my Lords, Let the Malignants fall off, let them separate from the honest party, let them draw to a head : In a word, as I have often before said, *Let them be parted from us with a Wall*— let them leave plotting against the Consul in his own house, investing the Judges Bench, surrounding the Senate with their Swords, making Fire-balls and Brands, to burn the City. Lastly, let it be written in every ones Fore-head how he stands affected to the State. I promise you this , my Lords, there shall be so great diligence in us Consuls, so much authority in you , so much courage in the Roman Knights , so great consent in the honest party , that you may see the whole Plot discovered, laid open, suppressed, and punished, by the going out of Catiline.

33. With

33. (n) With this Prayer after (n) The Heathens had a strong Superstition about the accidents, or Voices of Birds or Men, particularly at the Entring upon a Journey, especially in any great Undertaking that they were ominous, if good, to the Blessing, if bad, to the Blast-Walls of the City; from the life and fortunes of all the Citizens: And all signe Therefore he thus fore-speakes ill success to his design'd Expedition.

(o) This

(o) And thou, Oh Juppiter, who at the same dedication as the City, wert consecrated by Romulus, whom we truly style, the Stay of this State and Empire; repulse him and his Complices from the Altars, and other Temples; from the Houses and Walls of the City; from the life and fortunes of all the Citizens: And all signe Therefore he thus fore-speakes ill success to his design'd Expedition.

D 4. The being spoken in the Temple of Jupiter Statator, hath a greater presence of awe and Devotion, and a kind of solemn Excommunication, some Image of which was even among the Heathens in use towards men guilty of Treasons, Murders, and such high Misdemeanors.



The Second ORATION

Against

CATILINE.

The Argument.

Catiline having flung out of the Senate, went home, and there reflecting upon the unsuccessfulness of the Morning attempt upon the Person of the Consul, and seeing the City strongly guarded, concluded it safest with what forces he could suddenly and secretly carry with him, to gain the Camp of Manlius: Wherefore having given Lentulus and Cethegus in charge to strengthen his Faction in the City, and at convenient season to put in execution the Results of their former Counsels, in order

against CATILINE.

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order to a general Insurrection, when he should draw up with his Army towards the City: at Midnight he left Rome, with 300 in company. The next day, being the IX. of November, Tully calls the People to the Place of Assembly, both to justify to them his challenging Catiline of Conspiracy the day before, and to warn them to stand upon their Guard against the Confederates that still remain behind in the Town.

Gentlemen,

AT last with much ado, have we either expelled, or let out, or else waited upon L. Catiline of himself, going out of Town, foaming with rage, breathing Treason, unnaturally plotting the destruction of his Countrey, and menacing you and this City with Fire and Sword. He is gone, he is got his way, he is escaped, he is broke loose: No longer

longer shall any mischief against this Town be brewed by that Monster and Prodigy of Men within the Town. And without controversie have we prevailed against him, that was the onely Ring-leader of this Intestine War: For no

(a) Stabbing was infamous in all Ages, whence those Braves or Assassines that were noted for Cowardly and Desperate lying in wait to murder men, were from the Poniard which they carried, being in Latine Sica, called Siccarii.

(b) Mars's Field was a piece of Town ground (the Ancient Crown-land) which the Romans at the expusion of Tarquin the Proud, seized and converted to the use of Electing their Magistrates in it. Now there was a Statute in Rome, That none should bring a Weapon into the Place for Assembly of the People, nor into the Senate, nor into the Judgment Hall. But Catiline had in a former Conspiracy come to the Consular Election arm'd, with design to cut off the Consuls. And now Tully some few dayes before, at the late Election of Consuls, as going in fear of his life, had come into the Field of Mars, wearing a great remarkable coat of Mail.

(a) Dagger be busy amidst the ribbs of us; nor shall we be afraid in (b) the Field of Mars nor in the Market-Place, nor in the Senate, nor in a word, within our own doors. He has quitted his ground,

when

when he fled the City. We shall now openly wage a just War with a declared Enemy, no body contradicting : undoubtedly we have destroyed and bravely vanquished him, what time we put him from private plotting into open Rebellion.

2. But that he did not carry out of Town, as he designed, the point of his Sword stained in bloud ; that he went and we alive ; that we have wrested the weapon out of his hand ; that he left behind him the Citizens in safety ; and the Town standing : what mortification do you think it to be, and heart-breaking to him ? Now lies he groveling on the ground, and is sensible that he is a lost and ruined man , and oftentimes turns his Eyes back upon the City, lamenting , it has escaped his ravenous Jaws ; which City seems to me to look

look more cheerfully, since it has disgorged and cast out so pestilent a fellow.

3. But if there be any now, as all of you ought to be, affected, that upon this very point, wherein my Oration does boast and triumph, should greatly accuse me, because I did not rather apprehend so Capital an Enemy than let him escape; it is none of my fault, Sirs, but the times; *L. Catiline* should have been long since taken off and executed, and both old Presidents and the severity of this Empire, and the publick interest required it at my hands. But how many, think you, were there, who would not believe my Information? How many, that out of simplicity *could not have thought it?* How many that even *justify it?* How many, that out of corrupt Principles, *abetted it?* Now if upon taking him

him off, I had judged all your danger removed, long since had I cut off *L. Catiline*, not onely at the hazard, of losing my reputation, but also my life.

4. But when I plainly saw, though you had been all satisfied in the cause, if I had put him to death according to his demerit, it could not be that I might prosecute the Complices, so much should I be maligned: I brought it to this pass, that you might then openly fight, when you manifestly saw your Enemy; which Enemy, Gentlemen, how much you need fear, now he is gone, you may understand by this, that I am troubled at nothing more than that he went out of Town so ill attended; would he had carried along with him all his forces! He took me out *Tongillus*, that he was scandalously reported to have been fond

The Second Oration

sond of in his Childhood, *Publius* and *Munatius*, whose debts contracted in Taverns, could bring no fear to the State: He left behind him men, how considerable? of what vast debts? how potent? how noble?

5. Therefore that Army of his, in respect of our *Gallick Legions*, and that Levy, which *Q. Metellus* made in the *Picenian* and *Gallick Countrey*, and these forces, which are daily listed by us, I greatly slight, an Army made up of desperate old men, debauched Farmers, and Countrey Beggars and Bankrupts, men that had rather forfeit their Recognizance than quit his Colours, whom if I should shew, not so much as the Front of our Army, but onely the Sheriffs Writ, they will drop down, These that I see flaunting in the Market, nay, sitting in the Senate,

Senate, that are perfumed, that
shine in Purple; I had rather he
had carried out his Souldiers with
him; who, if they carry here,
take notice, that not so much that
Army, as these, that absent from
their Colours, are to be feared by
us; and so much the more danger-
ous are they: because, they are
sensible that I am informed of their
designs; and yet are not concerned
at it.

6. I see, to whose share *Apulia* is
allotted, who has *Tuscany*, who the
Picennian Country, who the *Gan-*
lick, who it was, that required he
might carry on the massacring and
firing the City. They perceive all
their Plots of the other night have
been brought to me, I declared
them yesterday in the Senate, *Cati-*
line himself was put in a fright, fled
upon it. What do these stay for?
I assure them they are much mis-
taken

The Second Oration

staken , if they suppose my forbearance will alwayes continue. What I waited for , I have already attained ; that you might all be convinced there is a manifest Plot against the State , unless perchance there be some , that imagine men of *Catiline's* temper do not abet *Catiline*. There is no longer room for patience , the nature of affairs calls aloud for severity , yet I will still allow them one favour ; let them be gone , let them march out , let them not suffer poor *Catiline* to pine away , for lack of them. I will shew them the way ; he is gone the *Aurelian* Road , if they make haste , they will over-take him before night.

7. Oh happy State , if it could drain out the sink of the Town. In truth , upon the throwing off *Catiline* onely , the State seems to me

me much eased, and on the mend-ing hand? For what mischief or villany could he devise or thought on; which he did not contrive? What Sorcerer in all Italy, what Hector, what Highway-man, what Assassine, what Pa-ricide, what Forger of Wills, what Cheat, what Whoremaster, what Prodigal, what Adulterer, what in-famous Strumpet, what Debaucher of Youth, what debauched, what desperate person can be found, but confesses Catiline was his great ac-quaintance? What Murders have been committed these late years, that he had not a hand in? What abominable Rape, but of his set-ting? Now where was there ever such a spirit of inveigling youth as in him? who did himself love somethin naturally, was scandalously prostituted to the unnatural love

The Second Oration

of others; some he promised the enjoyment of their lust, others the death of their Parents, not onely by his instigation, but by his assistance, and now, how of a sudden has he got together a great many men of desperate fortunes, not onely from the Town, but from the Countrey also? There is none in debt, either in Rome, or any corner of all Italy, that he has not drawn in to his incredible Confederacy in Treason.

9. And that you may perceive his different Inclinations in things of a contrary Nature, there is none in the Fencing School, any thing forward to bold attempts; but confesses, he was *Catiline's* Intimate: None any thing wanton or loose on the Stage, but gives out that he and *Catiline* were in a manner all one. And yet this very Person, murr'd to suffer Cold and Hunger and

and Thirst , and watch in pursuit
of Whoredom and Villany , was
cried up by these his Companions
as one hardy ; when as the Aids of
Industry and Instruments of Ver-
tue , were wasted upon Lust and
Violence ,

10. Now if his Comrades
would go along with him , if the
scandalous Crew of desperate Per-
sons would quit the Town , happy
should we be , the State bles-
sed , and an Immortal Renown up-
on my Consulship ! for the lusts
of men now-a-dayes are grown im-
moderate , their attempts inhuma-
ne and unsufferable ; they think
of nothing but Massacres , but fir-
ing , but plundering ; they have
spent their own Estates , they have
squandered away their Fortunes ,
their Stock has been long since
gone , now their Credit begins to
fail them ; yet they have the same

The Second Oration

pride as when they had a plentiful Estate. Now if amidst their Drinking and Gaming, they onely regarded Riot and Whoring, they were indeed little hopeful, but yet tolerable. But who can endure this, that Cowards should lay wait for the Valiant, Fools for the Wise, Sots for the Sober, Sluggards for the Vigilant? That sit me at Treats with their Misses in their Laps, their Brains swimming with Wine, Stomachs over charged with Meat, Garlands on their Heads, daubed with Sweet Oyntment, weaken'd with Whoring, and belch out in their talk *the slaughter of the honest Party and the firing of the City.*

II. Over whom I am confident there hangs some fate, and that the rewards long since due to their boldness, baseness, treachery, and lust, is either imminent, or certainly approaching. Whom, if

my

my Consulship , because it cannot cure , shall cut off , it will not prolong some small and inconsiderable time, but many Ages to the State; for there is no Nation , which we need fear , no King that can wage war with the People of *Rome* ;

(c) All forreign Affairs are quietly settled by Sea and Land , through the valor of one man; the Plot is within ; the danger locked within ; the Enemy is within : We have a Conflict with Luxury , with Madness , with Treachery . I declare my self , Gentlemen , General in this War . I am contented to be maligned by desperate persons . What can be healed , I will use all means to heal ; what must be cut off , I will not suffer to spread to the common destruction : Therefore either let them be gone , or let them be quiet ; or, if they do abide , both in Town and in the

(c) Pompey had at that time clear'd the Mediterranean of Pirates , and had well-nigh dispatch'd the long War with Mithridates King of Pontus .

same mind, let them expect what they deserve.

12. But some there are, Gentlemen, that say, Catiline was by me thrown into Banishment. Which, if I could effect with a word speaking, I would throw out them that say so. For he, I'll warrant you, poor, timorous, and over-modest man, could not bear the reproof of the Consul: as soon as commanded to go into Banishment, obey'd Orders. Nay yesterday, when I was almost murdered in my own house, I summoned a Senate into Jupiter Statu's Temple: I informed the Senators of the whole matter, whither when Catiline was come, what Senators spoke to him: who saluted him? In a word, who looked upon him, so well as a forsaken Citizen, and not rather as a most dangerous Enemy: Nay the Chief

Chief of that Order left the place
of the Seat, towards which he
came, naked and empty.

13. Hereupon, I, the severe Consul, that threw men into Ba-
nishment with a word speaking, que-
stioned Catiline, Whether he had been present, or no, at the (d) Night
Meeting in M. Lecca's House, when he, though bold enough, yet self-convinced, was at first si-
lent, I made sure by discouery, what he treated of that Night, where
he had been; what he had resolued upon for the next night, and in-
form'd how the whole Course of the War was projected by him. When
as he stopt and stayed, I question-
ed him, Why he should make any demurre of going thither, whither
he had long since intended, having I know, sent before, his Arms, his High treason, which was with the Romans to be tyed to the
Whipping-Post, scourg'd, and beheaded.

(d) It was fundamental Law in Rome of the XII. Tables,

not to hold Night-meetings within the City;

and there was a Ge-
nuse, Qui conciones

stias in Ur-
be contra-

viles, more ma-
jorum ca-
pitali supplicio

reum Po-
tius, eto.

Hinc illi
drat, iug-
ther, non
Mactum
within the
City, illi

sufficiunt.

pains of

(v) Cato. Axes, his Rods, his Trumpets, his
line leaving Ensigns, and that Silver Eagle, to
the Town, which he had set up at home a Chap-
upon the way post for his Treacheries.

to his friends. (vi.) Did I throw him into Ba-
and the Prime of the misfamp'ry, that I saw was already
Nobility, entred upon a War? For that
that being Captain I'll warrant you, that has
he saw him selfe encamped in the Fusitan Coun-
vented by false Accusa-

Roman people upon his own ac-
count, and that Camp does not
withstand the pres'ry now waid for Catilin to be their
ing Person General; and now being thrown in-
of his selfe to Banishment, he will turne aside to
with dron (vii) Marseilles, as they give our,
so that and not into this Camp. Oh un-
scilles, in happy condition, not only of
not enough steering, but of saving the State.
be well con-

scious himself of any such crime, but to prevent all occa-
sion of disturbing the publisk Peace.

Marseilles is a famous Port in France, planted from Asia
in the times of the Persian Empire; of old renown'd for
fraternity, with other Virtues, Policy, Learning, and an emi-
gent affection to the Roman State.

Now,

Now, if L. Catiline, hemmed in, and disabled by my Counsels, Labors, and Dangers, should take a sudden fright; alter his purpose, desert his Party, abandon his resolution of raising War, from this Garter of Treason and Rebellion, should turn his Course into flight and Exile; he will not be reported to have been by me disarmed of the weapons of his insolency; nor astonished and affrighted by my diligence; nor put besides his hopes and endeavours; but uncondemned innocent man, to have been thrown into Banishment by the Consul, with foul and threatening words: and some will have it be thought, if he shall do so, not that he was guilty, but unfortunate, nor that I was a most diligent Magistrate, but a most cruel Tyrant.

15. I can well afford, Gentlemen, to bear the storm of this
false

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false and unreasonable aspeſion,
ſo the danger of this dreadful and
unnatural War be diverted from
you, let it, ſince they will have
it ſo, be ſaid that *he was thrown*
out by me, ſo he do, but go into
Banishment: but take my word he
will not do ſo. Sirs! I ſhall never
wifh of the Immortal Gods, for
the abating any hard opinion of
me, that you ſhould hear *L. Cassi-*
line is in the head of the Enemies
Army, and marching in the Field;
yet within three dayes you will
hear it: and I much more fear the
other thing, leaſt the time may
once come, wherein it prove a
greater fault that I let him go out,
than that *I threw him out*: But there
being ſome, that ſay he is perſec-
ted, when he went of himſelf,
what would thoſe men haue ſaid,
if he had been exectuted?

16. Although these very men, that give out that Catiline is gone to Marseilles, do not so much complain, as fear that it is so. None of them has so much tenderness for him, but had rather that he should go to *Manlius* than to those of *Marseilles*. But, in truth, had he never before designed, what he now goes about, yet he had rather be killed in Rebellion than live in Banishment. But now, when as nothing has yet befallen him, besides his own desire and design, but that he went out of *Rome*, and we alive; let us rather wish he would, then complain that he doth go into Banishment.

17. But why are we thus long discoursing of one Enemy? and that Enemy that now declares himself so, and whom I no longer fear; because there is, as I alwayes desi-

desired, *a Wall between us*; we speak nothing yet of those, that dissemble that tarry behind at *Rome*, that keep amongst us: whom I do not so much endeavour to punish, if it could any way be prevented, as to cure and reconcile them to the State. Nor do I see, why that should not be possible, if they take my Counsel; for I will relate to you, Gentlemen, of what sort of men those forces are made up, then will I apply to the particulars the best Remedy my advice and perswasion can provide.

18. One Rank of them is such, as, though they have great debts, yet have greater Estates; out of love to which, they can by no means afford to get themselves clear. The appearance of these men has the fairest shew, for they are substantial men; but their intention

tention and pretence is most impudent. Should you be plentiful and splendid in Lands, in Houses, in Plate, in Retinue, and in all Accommodations, and do you stick to diminish some of your Estate, and to purchase a good reputation? Why, what do you look for? For War? What? Do you then think in the Common Desolation, that your possessions shall be sacred and untouched? For (f) a Bill to cancel old Debts? They are much mistaken, that look for that from Catiline; I will help them to such a Bill, but it must be a Bill of Sale. For, they who have Estates, can be preserved by no other means; which, if they would have done sooner, neither (which,

(f) In Cases of extraordinary publick necessities, there have been fram'd Acts or Proclamations, for the Releasing all old Debts to

a certain day. Such was the Jubilee among the Hebrews, such the act call'd Abois, or Eisiswteria among the Greeks, & those Nonci Tabulae of the Romans; and such in some measure are Acts in these later times, for the releasing of poor Prisoners, that shall swear themselves not worth 5 or 10 l.

is the most foolish thing in the World) tire out their Rents with paying interest; we might have had more able and honest Citizens of them. But such men as these I think not very much to be feared, because they may either be reclaimed, or, if they shall continue in the same mind, they seem rather to me, such as will joyn their prayers than their arms against the State.

19. Another sort is of those, that, though they are deeply in debt, yet they affect Tyranny, they would be Princes; those places which they cannot look for, if the State continue in peace, if

(g) Like the Israelites (g) disturbed, they hope they shall attain: Who should have given them this advice, the self-same, as all the rest, to despair of obtaining that, which they attempt: First of all, that I my self am vigilant,

giant, active, provident over the State; then the well-affected are in great Courage, great Concord, in very great numbers; that there are great Forces of Soldiery; lastly, that the Immortal Gods will aid and assist this invincible People, most renowned Empire, and most beautiful City, against such a prodigious Treason. But grant they had obtained, what they pursue with such madness, do they hope, that in the ashes of the Town, and blood of their Citizens, which with a traitorous and an unnatural heart they have conspired, themselves should be Consuls, or Protectors, or indeed Kings? Do they not see, that they lust after that of which, if they could compass, must needs be granted some Fugitive or Fencer?

20. A third sort is well stricken in years, yet trained up to hardness; in which rank is *Mankinus* himself, whose Charge *Catiline* has now taken.

(b) *Sulla* having overthrown the Marian Party and master'd the State, plac'd his Victori-
ous Army in the at-
tainted Lands; which he di-
vided a-
mongst 47 Legions.

(b) These are persons of those Plantations, that *Sulla* settled, all which I take to be of honest Citizens and valiant Men. But these are Planters, who live too high and proud upon their unexpected and new got moneys: These, whilst they build like Princes, whilst they pride themselves in their Manor Houses, Coaches, great Retinues, Entertainments, Furnitures, are sunk into so great Debt, that if they would ever come out, *Sulla*, must be again raised from the Dead by these: who have also drawn in some Farmers, poor and needy men, upon the same expectation of their old Rapines; both of whom, I place, Sirs, in the same Rank

Rank of Robbers and Plunderers. But I advise them this, Let them leave off their madness, and dreaming of Sequestrations, and Protectorships: For the Country having been burnt, retains such a dread of those times, that now a dayes not onely Men, but the Brutes themselves, in my opinion, would not endure such outrages.

21. The fourth sort indeed is heterogeneous and mixt and factious, such as have been long since sunk; such as never can hold up their head again; such as partly by idleness, partly by ill managing their business; partly by bad husbandry, are tottering with old Debts: who being tired with Suits, Judgments, and Outlawries, are said to flock in great numbers, both out of Town and Country to that Camp. These men I judge not so much to be

F stout

stout Souldiers, as Shifting Baf-
flers: Which persons, first, If
they cannot stand, even let them
fall; but so, that not onely the State,
but not so much as their next Neigh-
bour should be sensible of it: For I
do not understand the reason why
if they cannot live in credit, they
should desire to fall with dishonour;
or why they should suppose it less pain
to sink with many, than in sinking
alone.

22. A fifth sort is of Par-
cides, Murderers, and in a word,
of all Malefactors; whom I do not
intice from *Catiline*, neither can
they be torn from him; and in
truth let them perish in Rebellion,
being so many, that the Prison can-
not hold them.

23. But the last sort is, non
onely in their Roll, but also in
their course of life, that which is
properly *Catilines*, of his List; nay
of

of his Lust and Cap: such as you see with set and oynted Hair, either Beardles, or with spruce Beards; in (i) Tunicks, with Sleeves, wrapt in Mantles, and not in Gowns: All the industry of whose life and labour of watching, is laid out in Revellings. In this Crew, all Gamesters, all Adulterers, all loose and debauched persons do keep. These fine and soft Lads, have not onely the Trade of Courting and being Courted, nor of (k) Singing and Dancing; but also of flourishing Daggers and scattering Poison; who, unless they be gone, unless they perish, though Catiline should perish, be well assured, this will be a standing Nursery of Catilines.

(i) The measure of commendable and proper habit, is such as either conducib[le] to, or at least consists with readiness of Action in every ones place; therefore the Romans condemned in Men, especially Souldiers. Garments with Sleeves and Trains.

(k) To sing, play on Instruments of Musick and dance curiously, were qualifications of no credit at Rome, and look'd upon as light and airy, nor suitable to the Roman gravity, but in high esteem among the Grecians.

in the State. But what do those poor wretches mean? Can they carry their small Girles with them into the Camp? (And how can they be without them, especially these long Cold Nights?) Or in

(1) A ridge of Hills running the length of Italy North and South from the Alps to the Streight of Sicily.

what sort can they be anthe (1) Apennine, and those Frosts and Snows, unless they think they shall the more easily endure the Weather, because they have practised to dance naked at Feasts?

24. A War greatly to be dreaded, when *Catiline* hath about him this lewd Life-guard! Now, Gentlemen, draw up your Garrisons and your Armies against these precious Forces of *Catiline*; and first, against that broken and battered Fencer, range your Consuls and Generals; then against that naked and weather-beaten party of shipwrackt Creatures; draw forth the flower and strength

of

of all Italy? Now the Cities of the Plantations and Boroughs : shall
balance Catiline's Fastnesses in the Woods : Nor in truth ought I to
compare your other Forces, Tro-
phies, and Strong-holds, with the
want and beggary of that Rebel.

25. But if, waving all these things, whereof we have supplies,
he is in want ; the Senate, the
Knights, the Roman People, the
City, the Treasury, the Customs,
all Italy, the several Provinces,
Foreign Nations ; I say, if wa-
ving these things, we would match
the bare causes which are in di-
spute one with another ; by that
only we may apprehend how flat
they are laid : For, on the one side
modesty fights, on the other,
scorn ; on this part, Purity, on the o-
ther Debanchery ; on this side Cre-
dit, on that side Knavery ; on this
Loyalty, on that Treason ; on this

The Second Oration

side Stayedness, on the other Mad-
ness; on this side Honour, on that
Basenes; on this Government,
on that Lust: In summe, on this
side, Equity, Temperance, Cou-
rage, Prudence; all Vertues, con-
tend with Oppression, with Lux-
ury, with Cowardize, with Rash-
ness, with all Vices. Lastly,
Wealth with Want, Right Rea-
son with Absurdnes, Good Judg-
ment with Infatuation. Lastly,
Fair Hope engages with the De-
spair of all things. In such a Com-
bate and Battle, though the Af-
fections of men should withdraw,
would not the Immortal Gods
themselves oblige so many and so
great Vices to be over-thrown by
these most Excellent Vertues.

26. Which things being so,
Gentlemen, do you, as I have
before said, watch and ward your
private houses: I have taken Or-
der

der and provided, that the City be sufficiently guarded without putting you into any fear or Alarme. All your Planters and Bur-gesses, having been certified by me of this Nights Excursion of Catiline, will sufficiently defend their Cities and Bounds. The Fencers, which he thought would make him a great and a sure party, although they are better affected than some of the Senators, shall yet be secured. *Q. Metellus*, that I upon prospect of this, sent before into the Gallican and Picenian Coun-trey, will either surprise him himself, or suppress all his motions and endeavours. But for the settling, dispatching, and ordering all other things, we will immediately move the House, which you see is summoned.

27. Now for those which have tarried behind in Town, and in

F 4 truth,

The Second Oration

truth, which have been left there by *Catiline*, to the destruction of it and all you; though they are enemies, yet because they are natural Citizens, I would warn them again and again. My forbearing hitherto, if it have seemed to any too slack, has waited for this, that what was hidden, might break out. For the time to come, I can forget no longer that this is my Countrey, that I am their Consul; that I must either live with them, or die for them. There is no Porter at the Gate, no Scout upon the Road, if any will go out, they may shife for themselves: But whoever shall stir in the Town, that I shall discover not onely his acting, but any attempting, or endeavour against his Countrey, he shall find, that there are in the City, vigilant Consuls, there are excellent Magistrates,

gistrates, there is a Couragious Senate, that there are Arms and a Prison, which our Ancestors have appointed to be for the avenging of unnatural and notorious Villanies.

28. And all this shall be so carried, Gentlemen, that the most important affairs with the least noise, the greatest dangers without alarm, an intestine and domestick War, the cruellest and greatest as ever was recorded, may be suppressed under my single Conduct and Generalship in the Long Robe: Which I will so manage, Gentlemen, if it be any wayes possible, that not so much as any Criminal in the Town may endure the punishment due to his Treachery. But if open Rebellion, if the imminent hazard of my Countrey, shall force me from this temper of mind, I shall be sure to com-

The Second Oration

compleat that other thing , which in so great and so dangerous a Rebellion, seems a boldness to wish, that no honest person may miscarry, and that by the execution of a few , ye may be all preserved.

29. Which things I promise you, Gentlemen, not upon Confidence of my own Wisdom, nor the Counsels of Men , but upon many , and those undoubted Intimations of the Immortal Gods ; by whose guidance I have come to this hope and resolution ; who now, not at a distance , as they were wont in former times , from a foreign and remote Enemy , but here in presence , do defend their Temples, and the Houses of the City with their power and assistance ; whom you , Sirs , in duty ought to perceive , worship , and implore , That what City they have

against CATILINE.

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have pleased to raise to be most beautiful, flourishing, and powerful, they would preserve from the unnatural Treason of most desperate Citizens, all the power of Foreign Enemies being subdued both by Sea and Land.

МИЛТАС

*... et de bœufs. Les
vaches sont à lait
et engraissées pour
les vaches et vaches de lait.*



The Third ORATION
Against
CATILINE.

The Argument.

The Conspirators that were in the City, omitted no time or means to strengthen their Party, gaining all Citizens that were ill-inclin'd or discontented, and Strangers too : For Lentulus observing that the Allobroges, a Nation about Savoy, that now is, were deeply engag'd both on publick and private accounts, applies one Umbrenus, who had traded there, to their Embassadors ; promises relief of their condition, requires them to powre in a Party of Gallick Cavalry to joyn with the

against CATILINE.

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the Italian Infantry. They preferring certain favour before uncertain hopes, reveal the matter to Q. Fabius Sanga, Patron of their Country, he discovers it to Cicero, but is advised to put the Ambassadors to bold on fair with them, and so sound the depth of the Business, with means to discover it. They according to direction, insist for an Oath sign'd under their hands, to carry their State, which Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius gave, Cassius onely promis'd. The Night of their departure homewards, Cicero lodges two Companies under the Captains C. Pontinius and L. Flaccus, one on either side the Pons Milvius, which way they necessarily pass, and intercepts them, their Guide Titus Vulcius, and with them a Box of Letters both to Catiline and their Senate. Then by break of day summons a Senate into the Temple of Concord. What was there done that day, being the V. of December in the Evening, informs the People at the Place of Assembly.

i. !You

1. You see, Countreymen, the State, and all your Lives, your Goods, Estates, Wives, and Children, and this Seat of the most renowned Empire, the most fortunate and beautiful City, this day by the peculiar love of the Immortal Gods towards you; by my labours, counsels, and dangers, rescued from Fire and Sword, and out of the very Jaws of destruction, and preserved and restored to you.

2. Now if those dayes, wherein we are delivered, are no less delightful and remarkable to us, than those whereon we are born; because the joy of our being preserved is certain, the condition whereunto we are born, uncertain; and because we are not sensible of our being born but take delight at our being preserved. In

truth, since that we have extolled
in love and glory *Romulus*, that
founded this City (4) to the Im-
mortal Gods, he, sure, that has
preserved this City so founded
and enlarged, shall have reason to
find some esteem with you, and
your posterity. For we have
quenched those Brands, which
were put to, well nigh, and laid
about, the Temples, Oratories,
Houses, and Battlements of the
whole City. We too have beat-
en back the Swords drawn at
against the State, and have warded
off the points of them from your
Throats.

3. All which having been in
the Senate cleared, manifested,
and discoverd by me, I will now
in short report to you, Countreyd
Shape more excellent than humane, and by him sent a certain
Message to the Senate, upon which depended the future glo-
ry of that Empire.

(5) When
Romulus
was for his
absolute and
rough dis-
position in
Govern-
ment, torn in
pieces (as
some suspect-
ed) by the
Senate:

the same
Senate to al-
lay the grief
of the Peo-
ple and co-
lour that A-
ction, voted
him Divine
Honours:

what time
also Julius
Ptolemaeus a
Roman
Knight,
made Oath
that he had
appeared to
him in a

men

men, that you, who both are ignorant, and desirous to be informed, may know, both how great, and how plain they are ; and by what course traced out and taken. First of all, since *Catiline*, a few dayes ago, broke out of the City, having left in *Rome* the Complices of his Treason, and the most stoue Commanders of this Unnatural War, I alwayes have been vigilant and provident, Countrey-men, how we might be safe amidst so great and secret Plottings. For then, when I routed *Catiline* out of Town (nor do I now fear the Censure of that word, the contrary being rather to be apprehended, that he went out alive) but then, when I desired him to be banished the Verge of this Court, I either thought that the rest of the Conspirators would have gone out together, or that those

those who tarried behind, would be weak and disabled without him.

4. But now since I saw that those, who, I know, were inflamed with the greatest rage and malignancy, were amongst us, and tarried behind at *Rome*, I employed all my time day and night, to discover and see what they consulted and designed; that so, seeing my report could find but small credit with your Ears, by reason of the hainousness of the Treason, I might render the matter so evident, that you should then in your minds provide for your safety, when you saw with your Eyes the naked Conspiracy: Therefore, as soon as I came to know that the Ambassadors of the *Allobroges* had been tampered with by *P. Lentulus*, to raise a *Transalpine War*, and to put all *Gauland* into an up-

G roar,

The Third Oration.

roar and that they were sent in
to Gauland, to their Countrey-
men, and under one, with Letters
and Instructions to Catiline, and
that *Vulturnus* went along in their
Train and carried a Letter Express
to Catiline; I thought I had an op-
portunity to put into my hand,
that what was the hardest point,
and what I alwayes wished for
from the Immortal Gods, the
whole matter might be clearly dis-
covered not onely by me but by
the Senate and your selves.

5. Therefore yesterday, I sent
for *L. Flaccus* and *C. Ponsinus*
Prætors, most valiant and confi-
ding persons, I declared the whole
matter, shewed them my plea-
sure. Now they, as men of an
eminent and singular affection to the
State, without excuse or delay,
undertook the busines: and when
it drew towards night, got secret-
ly

against CATILINE.

ly to (b) Pons Milvius, and thare
in the adjoyning Towns so diuided
themselves, that the Bridge and
the River Tyber was betwix them.
They carried also along with
them without any suspicion many
strong men, and I too had sent thither
many choice youths, wearing
Swords, on of the men Jurisdiction
of Reate, whose service I con-
tinually make use of in guiding of
the State.

Now the Third Watch be-
ing near ended, so soon as the Am-
bassadors of the Allobroges, with a
great Train began to be upon the
Bridge, and Veturinus with them,
they are assailed, Swords were
drawn both by them and by ours.
The matter was known onely to
the Praetors, was unknown to the
rest. Then at the coming in of
Pontius and Flaccus, the Fray,
that was engaged in, is appeased.

(b) Pons
Milvius a
Town two
Mile from
Rome in the
Via Flami-
nia, where
was a
Bridge over
the Tyber
not unlike
our Bow-
Bridge.

(c) Towns
where Mar-
kets were
kept every
Ninth day,
and Causes
heard, or
Sessions and
Assizes held,
were call'd
Prefecture.

Reate is a
Town of the
Sabines, the
very Navel
of Italy and
Countrey of
Varro.

Whatever Letters were in that
Retinue, are delivered with the
Seals entire to the Praetors; the
persons apprehended are brought
before me about break of day:
Hereupon I sent for the most dan-
gerous Contriver of all these
Plots, *Cimber Gabinius*, suspecting
no such master; then afterwards
P. Statilius is fetcht, and after
him *Cethegus*; latest of all came
Lentulus. I suppose because in
making dispatches, late last night
he had fate up beyond his ordinary
hour.

7. Now when it was the opini-
on of the most eminent and hono-
rable Men of the City, who upon
hearing the matter, came early to
my house in great number; That
the Letters should be first opened by
me, before they were moved in the
House, lest, if there should be no-
thing in them, so great an Alarm
mights

might seem to have been rashly given the City. I said, I would not, but in a publick danger, propound the matter first to the Publick Council. For, Countreymen, if that had not been in them, which I was informed of, yet I did not suspect, that in so great dangers of the State, the blame of over-diligence, were to be feared by me, I suddenly called a full House, as you see.

8. And in the mean time, presently at the advice of the Allobroges, dispatched C. Sulpitius the Praetor, a stout man, to search for Arms in the House of Cethegus; from whence he brought out a great quantity of Stiletto's and Swords. I call'd in *Vulturinus* without the Gauls, and by the Order of the House passed the Publick Faith to him, advising him, that without fear he would

G 3 discover

discover what he knew : whereupon he, being scarcely come to himself from a great fright, said, that he had instructions from Ruben Lentulus to Catilina, and Letters that he should use the assistance of Slaves, and bring his Army with all expedition up to the City, to that intent, that when they had fired the City in all Corners, as it was laid out and divided, and had made an infinite Massacre of the Citizens, he might be at hand to glean up them that escaped, and joyn his Forces with these City Commanders.

¶ But the Gauls, brought in, said, They had an Oath and Letters given to them by P. Lentulus, Cethegus, Scatilius, to their Nations, and that such Orders were given them by these, and by L. Cassius, they should send their Cavalry with all speed into Italy, and

and for Infantry they should not want. Also that Lentulus had assured them out of the Sybill's Books and the Prophecies of Sotn-sayers, that he is ^(a) the Third Cornelius, to whom the Sovereignty and Empire of this City must come. That Sulla and Cimna had been before him ^(b), and that he said this year was fatal for the destruction of this City and Empire, being the (c) 10th, year after the Absolution of the Virgins, and (d) the twentieth since the Burning of the Capitol. They laid too that there was this Controversie between Cethegus and the rest, that whereas Lentulus and the others would have the Massacre made, and the City

^(a) Absolution] Mardus and Licinia were absolved by L. Metellus High Priest, with the whole College, only Aemilia condemned for Incest.

^(b) Burning] L. Scipio and Norbanus being Consuls, the Capitol which had stood from the time of the Kings 400 years and upward, and was before the Usurpation of Sulla burnt.

(f) The *burnt* or the (f) *Saturnalia*. Ce-
Beast of Sa- thegus thought, that was too
turn was the long.

10. Now, not to be tedious, Countrymen, we commanded the Letters to be produced, which were said to have been delivered by each person respectively. The first we shewed to Cetegus, he knew the Seal; we cut the thread; read it: There was written with grey. The his own hand, To the Senate and Chief Magi- the People of the Allobroges, that
strates were therefore he would effect, what he had assured them to be out their Ambassadors: desiring that of Town, and much licence they also, on their part would effect allow'd the what their Ambassadors should direct Apprentices and Slaves, who a lit- before had made some answer
who were for tle time of about the Swords and Daggers
mis-rule ex- which were found in his House,
empted from the commands of and had said, That he was always
their Ma- a Lover of good Blades: Upon
sters. reading the Letters, being dismay- ed

ed and confounded, through the Conviction of his Conscience, was of a sudden put to silence. Statilinus was brought in, he knew both his Seal and his Hand; the Letters were read to the same purpose in a manner, as he confessed it. Then I shewed Lentulus his Letter, and inquired, *Whether he knew the Seal?* By nod he owned it. *I marry,* said I, *It is a Noted Seal, the Image of your Grandfather, a most Honourable Person, who bare a singular affection to his Countrey and Countreymen, which might of it self, though dumb, reclaim you from so great a Treason.*

II. The Letter in the same tenor, to the Senate and People of the *Allobroges* is read, if he had any thing to say for himself in this matter, I gave him liberty. Thereupon he first denied it, but a little after, the whole Information being

ing produced and declared , he stood up , asked the Gauls what he had to do with them , that they should come to his House ? Asked *Vultarcins* also thelike , who having answered him in short and coherently , with resolution , by whose means , and how often they came to him ; and having asked him , Whether he had spoken no-

(g) P Len-
gulus was a
Nobleman,
that year one
of the Eight
Pretores U-
bani , or
Chief Justi-
ces of Rom^e ,
In speaking,
his manner
and language
however in-
different , yet
the Com-
munity of his
Person , Ge-
sture of his
Body , full of Art and Gracefulness , a sweet and loud voice , did wonderfully set off:

his

his manifest and convict Treason,
that (h) impudence, wherein he
surpassed all, and presumptuous-
ness failed him.

*But Vulturius of a sudden
requires, that the Letters should
be produced and opened, which, he
said, were given him by Lentulus to
carry to Catiline.* Thereupon Len-
tulus being exceedingly confound-
ed, yet knew his Seal and Hand.
Now they were written without
any Name, but thus: *Who I am,
you shall know of this Bearer, whom
I have sent Express to you; look
that you play the man, and consider
what pass you are come to, and see
what is at the present necessary for
you. Look that you take on the Aids
of all, even of the meanest.* Then
Gabinius brought in, when as at

*Also in a cer-
tain Trial having brib'd the Judges, and coming off by two
Voices, he said, There was so much money lost as the other
had, when it had been enough to have come off by one Voice.*

first he began to answer peremptorily , at last denied nothing of that which the Gauls charged upon him.

13. Now as to me, Countrymen, whereas those Arguments and Proofs of the Treason seem most certain, the Letters, Seals, Hands, lastly, the Confession of every one ; so did those other seem more sure , their Colour, Eyes, Looks, Silence : For they were so amaz'd , so fix'd their Looks on the ground, so slyly now and then eyed one another , that no longer by others , but they seem'd to be by themselves discover'd. The Proofs being produced and declared , I put the Question to the Senate , *What they would resolve upon for securing the State?* Most severe and courageous Votes were given by the leading Men , which the Senate fol-

followed without any dissent; and because the Order is not yet drawn up, I shall repeat to you, Countrymen, by heart what the Senate voted.

14. First of all, *The Thanks of the House were given me in an ample manner*; because by my courage, counseL, providence, the Commonwealth had been delivered from most imminent dangers. Then L. Flaccus and Caius Pomplinius are deservedly and justly praised; because they had courageously and faithfully executed what I committed to their Charge. Ca. Antonius a valiant man, my Colleague, has his share of praise given him too, for having removed those that were engaged in this Conspiracy from his Cabinet Council and the Secrets of state. And thus they resolved, That (i) R. Lentulus having first laid down the Praetorship, should be taken

They were committed
not into the publick
Garde but
confin'd under the
custody of
certain
Guardians.
13 P. L.
tulus P.
Lentulus
Spinther
who was
then Aedili
(an Officer
as a Mayor.)

(k) C. Cethegus to Q. C. Cethegus; (l) L. Scælius, and Cornificius.

(l) L. Scælius to C. Cæsar. (m) Publius Gabinius, who were all personally present, should be committed: (n) and the same was

(m) P. Gabinius to M. Crassus. voted too against Lu. Cassius, who had sued for a Commission to fire Only these four were taken to whom, as it was informed, A-

(n) In case they should be taken.

(o) A Burgess of Terracina, who having information that the Philippians discovered attempted to bring his man taken away and brought before Sulla, he was accordingly committed to Cn. Terentius the younger.

15. And the Senate used such Gentlemen, Countrymen, that out of so great a Conspiracy, and such a power and multitude of home-

home-bred Enemies, the Common-wealth being preserved by the punishment of nine most rotten members, it is supposed the minds of the rest may be cured. And further, a Thanksgiving to the Immortal Gods for their exceeding goodness, was voted to be kept upon my account; which has never been done before to any in the Long Robe since the Foundation of the City, but to me: and it was drawn up in these words, *Because I had delivered the City from firing, the Citizens from slaughter, and Italy from war.* Which Thanksgiving if it be compared with others, Connareymen, this difference may be found, that others have been appointed for serving mine for the preserving of the State. And that which was in the first place to be done, is passed and performed. For P.

Lentulus,

The Third Oration

(p) The
form of his
degrading
from the
Chief Ju-
stice-ship
was such,
that he was
disrob'd of
his Scarlet
Gown in the
Senate, and
put on
Mourning
Weeds suit-
able to his
condition, as
being a Cri-
minal under
Tryal.

Lentulus, although discovered
by his Proofs and Confessions,
had been by the Judgement of the
Senate (p.) degraded not onely
from the Dignity of Praetor, but
from the Liberty of a Citizen, yet
did lay down his Magistracy; that,
what *C. Marius*, that excellent per-
son never scrupled at for the killing
of *C. Glancia*, the Praetor, against
whom there was no Vote passed by
name, we might be delivered of
that scruple, in executing *Lentulus*
a private man.

16. Now, seeing, Country-
men, you have the unnatural Ge-
nerals of this most wicked and
dangerous Rebellion, in hold and
prison, ye ought to judge, that all
the forces of *Catiline*, all his hopes
and strength, these dangers of the
City being prevented, are fallen
to the ground: whom indeed
when I turned out of Town, I
fore-

fore-saw this in my mind, Coun-
treymen, that if *Catiline* were got
out of the way, I had no reason
to fear, either the drowsiness of
P. Lentulus, or the fat guts of *E.
Cassius*, nor the hot-headed rash-
ness of *Ca. Cethegus*. He was the
only person of them all to be
feared, but so long as he continu-
ed within the Town, he had in-
telligence of every thing; he had
access to every body: He had a-
bility, had confidence, to break
the question to them, to feel
them, to practise them: He had
a Head shaped for any Exploit;
and to that Head, was wanting
neither Tongue nor Hand. Now
for the execution of his other busi-
ness, he had certain choice and
suitable Instruments: Nor yet, as
soon as he had given a thing in
Charge, did he reckon his work
done; there was nothing but lie

H over.

overlooked himself, i compassed
in good time, watched and drugg-
ed for ; could bear Cold, Thirst,
Hunger.

17. This person, so eager, so for-
ward, so audacious, so subtle, so
watchful at his Treason, so active in
mischief, had I not driven from his
secret Ambushes in Town, to o-
pen action in the Field (to tell you,
Counteymen, what I think) I
had not easily prevented this great
mischief from falling upon your
Necks. He would not have pitch-
ed you the *Saturnales*, nor so long
before have given out the fatal day
for the destruction of the State,
neither would he have been so far
overseen, as that his Seal, his Let-
ters, no, not that any witnesses
of such open Treason, should be
produced. All which, now in his
absence, have been so carried,
that never was theft in any private
house

house so openly detected; as this so great Conspiracy in the State has been found and convicted. But if *Catiline* had tarried in Town to this day, although as long as he was here, I obviated and prevented his designs, yet to speak with the lowest, we must have fought with him, nor could we ever, as long as that Enemy had been in Town, with so great peace, such quiet, such silence, have freed the State from so great dangers.

18. Although all these things, Countreymen, I have so managed, that they may be perceiv'd to have been fore-seen and carried on by the Councel and Guidance of the Immortal Gods. Which, as we may conjecture, because the conduct of such weighty affairs may hardly be judged within the compass of humane policies, so

H 2 indeed

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indeed in such present manner of late have they aided and assisted us, that we might almost see them with our Eyes: For, to wave those things, Meteors like Torches in the West, seen by night, and the Heavens as it were all on fire, to pass by Lightnings, Earthquakes, and the other Prodigies, which have happened in our Consulship, so many, that the Immortal Gods seem with a Voice from Heaven to have proclaim'd the things which are now come to pass. This one thing, Countrey-men, which I shall mention, must neither be omitted, nor neglected.

19. For yee must needs remember, when Cotta and Torquatus were Consuls, that many Turrets in the Capitol were struck with Lightning, what time also the Images of the Immortal Gods were beaten down, and the Statues

tues of Ancient Men overthrown,
and (q) the Brass Tables of the
Law melted; *Romulus* too, that
founded this City, was smitten,
whom you remember to have been
gilt in the Capitol, a Babe, and
sucking with the Wolves Teats in
his Mouth. At what time, the
Diviners, having been convened
from all Etruria said, That Slaugh-
ters and Fires, and the abolition of
the Laws, and Civil and Dome-
stick Wars, and ruin of the whole
City and Empire did approach;
unless the Immortal Gods, attoned
by all means, should by their abso-
lute power almost alter the course of
Fate.

20. Therefore upon their In-
terpretations at that time, both
Plays were for ten days celebrated,
and nothing omitted, which
might tend towards the atone-
ment of the Gods. The same

(q) As we
engross our
Acts of Par-
liament and
file the Ori-
ginals up in
the Records;
so the ancien-
t Romans
when their
Law had
been the
third Mar-
ket-day ap-
prov'd by the
People, en-
grav'd it in
Brass Tables
and laid it
up in the
Treasury.
The XII.
Tables so en-
grav'd, were
laid up in
the Tower.

Southsayers too gave order, To make a larger Image of Jupiter, and to place it on high, and turn it East, contrary to what it had been before; and said, They had hopes, if that Image, which you see, looked towards the East, and the Judgment-Hall and the Senate-House, it would come to pass, that those designs, which were secretly plotted against the safety of the City and Empire, should be brought to light; so that they might be clearly seen by the Senate and People of Rome. Now those Consuls agreed with Workmen to have it erected in that posture; but the slowness of the Work was such, that it was neither set up by the former Consuls, nor by us till this very day.

21. Here, who can be so destitute of Truth, so obstinate, so senseless, as to deny this whole visible

sible World, and especially this City, to be ruled by the providence and power of the Immortal Gods : For whereas such Interpretation was given, that *Slaughter*, *Fires*, and *Subversion of the State*, were in contriving, and that by *lewd Citizens*; which at that time for the hainousness of the Crimes, seemed to some incredible : You have found those things, not onely designed, but also attempted by unnatural Citizens. And is not that so plain a thing, that it may seem to have come to pass by the Guidance of the good and great *Jupiter*, that when as to day morning, both the *Conspirators* and the *Informers* against them, were by my order carried into the *Temple of Concord*, at that very time the *Image* was setting up ? Which being placed, and turned towards you and the

H 4 Senate,

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Senate, both the Senate and you have seen what things were contrived against the safety of every one, to be all brought to light and manifested.

22. So much the more hatred and punishment were they worthy of, who have endeavoured to wrap in a deadly and unnatural Flame, not onely your Seats and Houses, but also the Temples and Oratories of the Immortal Gods; whom, if I should say that I resisted, I should take too much upon me, and were intolerable. It was that, that *Jupiter* that resisted them. He was pleased to preserve the Capitol; he, to preserve these Temples; he, this City; he, all of you. By the guidance of the Immortal Gods, I receiv'd these impressions and impulses, and attained to these so evident proofs. Now this praetising

etising of the *Allobroges*, a business of such importance, would never truly have been so foolishly trusted by *Lentulus*, and the other home-bred Enemies, both to Strangers and to Barbarians; nor Letters committed, unless by the judgement of the Immortal Gods so desperate an attempt had been deprived of ordinary prudence; nay, that *Gauls* being of a State hardly well-reduced, which is the onely Nation left, that seems both able and not unwilling to make War with the *Roman People*, should yet neglect the hope of Empire and of great advantages, freely offered them by Patricians, and should prefer your safety before their own power: Do you not think that this came from God? especially when they might have overcome us, not by fighting,

fighting , but by holding their peace?

23 Therefore, Countreymen, seeing that a *Thanksgiving* is voted before all the *Images* , solemnize those dayes with your Wives and Children. For many honours have been justly and of due given to the Immortal Gods , but in truth none ever more justly : For being rescued from most cruel and miserable destruction , rescued without slaughter, without blood, without Army , without fighting, in your Gowns , I being your Commander and General in the Long Robe , yee have gotten the Victory.

24. Now call to mind, Countreymen , all Civil Dissentions , not those onely , which yee have heard of , but these also , which your selves do remember and have seen : *L. Sulla* suppressed
(r) *P. Sul-*

(r) *P. Sulpitius*; he banish'd *C. Marius*, the Preserver of this City, and many valiant men, he partly banished, partly slew. (f) *Cn. Octavius* being Consul, chased out his Colleague from the Town by force of Arms. All this place was covered with heaps of Corpses and the blood of Citizens. Afterwards (t) *Cinna* and *Marius* prevailed. But then (u)

the one at Ambrun, the other at Aix la Chappelle.

(f.) *C. Cornelius Cinna* would have got certain Laws pass'd when *L. Sulla* was abroad; *Cn. Octavius* the other Consul forc'd him away by the overthrow of his party in Town, degraded him from the Consulship, and proclaim'd him a Rebel and Traitor.

(t) *Cinna* afterwards gathered forces in Italy, and *Marius* coming over joyns with him; as also *Sertorius* and *Cn. Carbo*, they march up in four Bodies and take Rome.

(u) *Cn. Octavius* the Consul, *Q. Catulus*, *L. Merula* the Priest of Jupiter, *M. Antony* and *C. Caesar* two most eminent

(r) *P. Sulpitius* a Tribune of the Commons, would have got certain Laws pass'd; the Consuls oppose; he with the favour of *Marius* sat upon them and kills the Son of *Q. Pompey*, who was Son in Law of *Sulla* the other Consul; *Sulla* brings up his Army to Town, overthrows the Tribunes, and excepts from pardon for Life or Estate, 12 men, whereof *P. Sulpitius* is taken and slain; but *Marius* by ship got over to Africa, *C. Marius* is called the Preserver of Rome, because he overthrew two powerful and victorious Armies of the Gauls pressing into Italy.

the

Orators, Crassus the Father and Son, and other Noblemen of the adverse party without number were slain; the Senate met him; as he pass'd by them with a Band of Slaves at his heels, whomsoever he did not reach out his hands to salute them, the Slaves presently slew.

(x) Sulla upon the news of this pieces up a Peace with Mithridates and brings home his Army into Italy, overthrows his adversaries, but then he fill'd the City and all Italy with slaughter, kill'd 90 Senators, of which 15 were Consular men; 2600 Knights, 70000 Roman Citizens in cold blood, over and above innumerable slain in Battle.

(y) Either because it was fresh in memory, or for the atrocity of the fact.

(z) M. Lepidus about the funeral and disannulling the Acts of Sulla, Q. Catulus (Son of Q. Catulus above) said to be slain by Cinna, when their Consulship was ended, they

sought it out in the Campus Martius, where Lepidus being beaten, fled into Sardinia, and there died a natural death.

the most eminent men being slain, the eyes of the City were put out; afterwards (x) Sulla avenged the cruelty of this Victory; with how great diminution of the Citizens and calamity of the State (y) it need not be mentioned. (z) M. Lepidus dissented from Quintus Catulus, a most gallant and valiant man, not so much his own destruction brought sorrow to the Common-wealth as that of others.

25. And these dissensions were of this nature, Countreymen, as tended not to the abolition, but the change of Government. These men did not desire the State should be confounded, but that themselves should be the principals in such as was. Nor would they have the City burnt, but themselves to flourish in it; yet all these dissensions, whereof none desired the destruction of the State, were such, as they were decided, not by an accommodation of parties, but by the Carnage of Citizens. But in this War, the greatest and cruellest of any recorded; such a War as never any Barbarians waged with their own Nation: in which War, this Condition was resolved upon by Lentulus, Catiline, Cassius, Cethegus: That all they, who could save themselves in saving the City, should

should have no Quarter given; I have so behaved my self, Countrymen, that all of you are preserv'd in safety. And when as your Enemies had reckoned, that so many Citizens should survive as were the remainder of a boundless Massacre, and so much of the City should stand, as the flame could not take in, I have preserved both City and Citizens safe and sound.

(a) Preferment, such as 26. For which so
 (b) Triumph.

(c) Statue. M. Cato the Elder said, I had rather men should enquire why has Cato no Image? than why hath he one? And Agesilaus the Lacedemonian General when the Greeks in Asia had order'd him statues to be set up in their most famous Cities, wrote to them to this purpose, Let there be no Picture nor Molten or Graven Image of me; and dying, requested the like of his Friends; for if, saith he, I have done any worthy Action, that will of it self be my Monument: but if not, all Statues that can be made, can be no Monument to me. Alike moderation of spirit fully preserv'd, when having been Proconsul

consul or Lieutenants of Asia, and govern'd in that Charge
with great integrity, would yet admit onely verbal acknowledg-
gments, but continued to refuse reciting Statues to him.

nument of praise besides the ever-
lasting memory of this day. I
would have deposited and erected
in your Bosomes, all my Tri-
umphs, all Ornaments of Ho-
nour, Monuments of Glory,
Badges of Praise. No dumb thing
can take with me, nothing silent;
in a word, nothing of that nature,
which men of not any great merit
may attain. In your memory,
Countreymen, shall our Actions
be cherished, in your discourses
shall they grow up, in the Re-
cords of History shall they come
to age and full strength; and I
judge, that the same length of
time, which I hope will be parallel
to Eternity, is propagated both
to the preservation of this City,
and to the memory of my Con-
sulship;

The Third Oration.

fulship; and that at one time in
(A) Pom- this State were (d) two Citizens;
pey and Cz- the one whereof has bounded the
fat. extent of your Empire, nor by the
Terrestrial but the Celestial Regi-
ons; the other preserved the Man-
sion and Seat of the same Em-
pire. O Illustrious you

27. But because there is not a
like fortune and condition of the
things which I have acted, as of
those, who have waged foreign
wars; because I must live with
them I have vanquished and sub-
dued, they have left their En-
emies, either slain, or brought in-
to bondage. It is your part,
Courtyemen, to provide, if o-
thers good actions advantage
them, that mine may not come to
prejudice me. For, that the trea-
cherous and unnatural intentions
of audacious men, might not hurt
you, I have provided: that they
may

against CATILINE.

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may not hurt me, it is your part to provide. Although Countrey-men, my self cannot be hurt by them; for there is great protection in the good Party, which is gained to me for ever. Great dignity in the State, which will alwayes silently defend me; there is a great law of Conscience, which whosoever shall slight, when they go about to hurt me, will betray themselves.

¶ 48 There is farther in us such resolution, Countrey-men, that we are so far from giving way to the boldness of any, as we do alwayes voluntarily desir all traitors. Now if all the assaults of the hostile Brethren diverted from you, should return upon my single person, you, Countrey-men, must look to it! In what condition you would have them hereafter stand, who shall inscpole themselves

The Third Oration

selves to Envy and all dangers for
your preservation. For my self,
what is there more, that can be re-
quired to the contente of life, espe-
cially since I see no higher step,
that I care to ascend either in Place
of Honour from you, or in Praise
of Virtue.

29. This, Countrymen, in
truth I will effect; what I have
managed in my Consulship, when
I am come to be a private man, so
maintain and improve. That if
any Envy for preserving the State,
has been incurred, it may turn to
their hurt onely that bear it, but
to my glory. In summe, I will so
deport my self in the State al-
wayes to remember what I have
acted, and give diligence, that
it may appear to have been man-
aged by vertue and not fortune.
Tou, Countrymen, seeing it is
now Night, pray to shes Jupiter
aswite. she

against CATILINE.

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the Guardian of this City and your
selues, and go away to your Hous-
es, and though the danger be now
over, yet watch and ward them as
ye did the Night before; that ye
may not long be put to that trouble,
but continue in peace without inter-
ruption, I shall provide.

The **I** 2d **to** **the** **Congress** **of** **the** **United** **States** **of** **America**, **in** **Assembly**, **on** **July** **4th**, **1776**, **do** **hereby** **declare** **that** **they** **are** **free** **and** **independent**; **that** **they** **reject** **any** **ties** **with** **the** **British** **King**; **that** **they** **hold** **it** **self-evident**, **that** **all** **men** **are** **created** **equal**; **that** **they** **are** **endowed** **by** **their** **Creator** **with** **certain** **unalienable** **rights**; **that** **among** **these** **are** **Life**, **Liberty**, **and** **the** **Pursuit** **of** **Happiness**; **that** **to** **secure** **these** **rights**, **governments** **are** **instituted**; **that** **whenever** **a** **just** **and** **proper** **law** **fails** **to** **safeguard** **them**, **it** **is** **the** **Duty** **of** **the** **People** **to** **alter**, **abolish**, **or** **reject** **it**; **that** **the** **Colonies** **are** **therefore** **absolved** **from** **all** **allegiance** **to** **the** **British** **King**; **and** **that** **all** **power** **is** **invested** **in** **the** **people**, **and** **exercised** **only** **through** **representatives** **chosen** **by** **themselves**.

THE FOURTH ORATION

OF CATILINE.

CATILINE.

The Argument.

The Conspiracy being thus fully discover'd, a Senate is call'd on the VI. of December, with Order that a Reward be bestow'd on the Ambassadors of the Allobroges and Titus Vulturcius, for giving Information of the Plot, and in the Night to avoid a Tumult of the People, the Prisoners were convey'd into the Common Gaol; but Lentulus by divers of his Liberti and Clients, spread into several Quarters, assay'd to hire Workmen and Shop-keepers to rise and rescue him.

So

So Cethegus animadvised his Friends
and Flans men that were in his Crew,
to make their way in to him with their
Weapons. Upon notice of which Tully
calls the Senate again on the VII.
and puts it to the Question what the
House please should be done with the
Prisoners ? Where finding them divid-
ed, and some out of renderinge to
him, inclinable to a less severe Cen-
sure, he persuadeth them to be mani-
mous, and before Night pass their Sen-
tence with diligence and courage.

I. I See, my Lords, all your
faces and eyes turned to-
wards me; I see you foliceous, not
only for your own and the Com-
monwealths danger, but, sa-
though that be prevented) for
mine also. Your affection to me
in this perplexity, I take kindly,
and thankfully, amidst my grief;
but I beseech you, for the Immor-
tal Gods sake, lay that aside, and
forgetting my safery, think upon
I 3 your

your selves and your own Children. For my part, if this have been made the Condition of my Consulship, that I must undergo all extremities, all pains and torments, I shall endure them, not onely courageously, but even contentedly, so that by my pangs, deliverance and honour may be brought forth to you and the Roman People.

2. I am that Consul, my Lords, who have never found the Pleading Hall, wherein all Equity is preserved, nor the Camp consecrated to the Election of Consuls; nor the Senate, the supreme relief of all Nations; nor my own House, the Common Refuge; nor Bed, ordained for repose; nor lastly, this Seat of Honour, the Ivory Chair, free from the danger of my Life and Hidess, and I have concealed much, endured much, yielded much,

much I have with some regret
of my own in your fears, healed
much. Now if the Immortal
Gods are pleased to have this the
issue of my Consulship, that I
should rescue you, my Lords, and
the Roman People from a miscre-
able Massacre, your Wives and
Children and the Vestal Virgins,
from most violent hating their
Temples and Oratories, and this
the most noble Countrey of every
one of us, from a most execrable
fame; all Italy from war and de-
solation, whatever fortune shall
be proposed to my single person,
let it fall. For if *P. Len:ulus*, sed-
duced by Fortunetellers, has
thought his Name should be fatal
to the destruction of the State;
why should not I rejoice, that my
Consulship has been almost fatal
to the preservation of the Com-
mon wealth.

3. Wherfore, my Lords, look to your own interest, provide for your Countrey, preserve your Wives, Children, and Estates; defend the Name and safety of the Roman People; forbear your tenderness for me, and to be anxious on my behalf. For first, I have grounds to hope, that all the Gods, that are Tutelar to the City, will render unto me according to my desert. Then, if any thing should fall out amiss, I shall be contented and ready to die: For Death can never come dishonourable to a Valiant Person, nor untimely to him that is Consular, nor unfortunate to a Wise man. Neither yet am I so obdurate as not to be moved with the affliction of my most dear and loving (4) Brother here present, and with the tears of all these you see me surrounded with. Nor, but

(5) Q.Cicero.

but that (b) my Wife distract'd by
(c) Daughter distract'd with fear,
and the little Babe (d) ^{as yet shiv} Terentia.
my Son, whom the ^(b) Tullia.

Common wealth seems ^(a) & b) Tullius the
to hug ^{as} the Hostages ^{(e) Crassipes was the}
of my Consulship, ^{first husband of Tullia,}
often call my thoughts ^{after, he married Dolabel-}
home ; nor am I ^{la (here present) and last} of all Cn. Piso.
concerned for my ^(e) Here is to be noted the
Son in Law, who stands ^{decorum which was obser-}
here in my sight, waiting ^{ed, that his Brother and}
for the issue of this ^{son in law were at sev-}
day. I am moved at ^{eral distances present, to}
all these things, but to ^{at homewy}
that side, that they may be all
preserved with you ; although at
any violence should overwhelm me,
rather than that they and we
should be involved in the universal
ruin of the State.

4. Wherefore (my Lords) apl-
ly yourselves to the preservation
of the Common wealth, & look
well

well about for the storms, that hang over you, unless you provide against them. It is not a *Tib. Gracchus*, that would the second time be made Tribune of the Commons; not *G. Gracchus*, that endeavoured to stir up men to the Claims of Publick Lands, nor *M. Saturninus*, that slew *C. Memmius* is called in question, and brought to the Tryal of your Severity. But those are in hold, who tarried at *Rome* for the burning of the City, the massacring of all of you, and letting in of *Catiline*. Their Letters, Seals, Hands, are produced, in a word, every ones Confession; the *Allobrog's* are practised, Slaves raised, *Catiline* invited: such a Plot was laid, that all should be cut off, and none left, no nor so much as to deplore the Name of the People of *Rome*, and lament the Calamity of so great an Empire.

5. All

5. All this Informers have declared, the Criminals have confessed, your selves have by many Verdicts already prejudged: first, in that *ye gave me thanks in singular terms*, and did declare that by my virtue and diligence the Conspiracy of desperate men was discovered. Then in that ye obliged R. Lenculus to lay down the Praetorship. Then that you voted both him and the others, on whom you pass'd Sentence to be committed; and especially in that you ordered a Thanksgiving in my behalf; which honour has not been given to any in the Long Robe before me. Lastly, In that yesterday, you gave most large Rewards to the Ambassadors of the Allobrogues and Titus Vulcius. All which things are of that nature, that those who have been put in prison by name, may, without any Controversie appear

The Fourth Oration

pear to have been condemn'd by you.

6. But I have resolved to move the Question anew to you, both concerning the fact, what you judge of it, and concerning the punishment, what you resolve upon? yet I will onely premise what belongs to my place as Consul. I long since saw a great malignancy working in the State, and certain new mischiefs brewing and stirring: but that, so great, so deadly a Conspiracy as this was made by Citizens, I never dreame. Now whatever it be to which your minds and resolutions bend, you must determine it before night. How great a Treason has been discovered, you see. If you think but few to be accessory to it, you are greatly mistaken. The mischief is spread farther than you imagine. It is diffused not onely

ponly over all Italy, but has pass'd beyond the Alps, and creeping secretly, has already seized many Provinces. It can by no means be crushed by forbearing and delay, in whatever way you think fit, it must suddenly be punished.

7. I see as yet but two Votes, the one of D. *Silianus*, who resolves, that, *They which endeavoured to destroy these things, should be punished with death.* The other of C. *Cæsar*, (a) who ex-

cludes acceptance of what they termed a Capital Offence or Punishment. The instances of those that under colour of High Treason were put to death, have been in all the ages of that State but rare and numerable; such as seem to have much of violence upon jealousies of a prevailing party; for ought appears in History more worthy of execration, rather than any crimes duly proved, as suspicious of desiring the destruction of State or affection of usurping a Kingly Power, upon an interpretation of some actions that might arise from men of Publick Spirits, but who were the Privilege & indeed Prerogative of the Citizen and Freeman of Rome, was now grown almost unbounded. The Valerian, the Porcian, the Sempronian Laws had so farre freed the Persons of the Imperial People from suffering, and were so largely interpreted in their favour by Popu-

for Governors, that it was made a Question where, whether Death or any other Corporal Punishment, might in any case be inflicted by the Magistrate upon a Roman Citizen? The Negative of which Caesar maintains. To which absurdity the Government of a Free State naturally reduces itself; for where the Majesty is in all, there the Persons of all are Sacred; and this is *Totalliberitas*, or the very dissolution of Government, and alike demonstrates the Perfection of Monarchy, where Law bath the largest extent and Authority the highest sanction.

clades the penalties of death, but takes in all Extremities of other punishments. The one and the other both according to his dignity and the Atrocity of the Fact deals with the highest severity. The one judges, That, They who endeavoured to deprive us all, and the Roman People of life, to raise the Empire, to extinguish the name of the Roman People, ought not one monarch to enjoy life and this air we stand to breathe in. And quotes Presidents that this sort of punishment has been often used against seditious Citizens in this State. The other is

of this judgement, That Death was never appointed by the Immortal Gods for a punishment, but either a natural necessity or rest from Labour and miseries; therefore that Wisemen never unwillingly and Valiant Men have often cheerfully embraced death; but that Bonds, and those everlasting, have in truth been invented for the singular punishment of unnatural wickedness. Hereupon he orders, that, Tibey should be imprisoned in the several Burroughs. This thing, if you command it, seems to carry oppresion with it; difficulty, if you require it; yet let it pass, if it be your will and pleasure. For I shall promise, and I hope prove the man that does not think it suitable to his Office, to dispuse that which you shall determine for the publick good.

8. Hocades, vngodlyne punishment upon the Burgers, if any of them ſhould breake priſon, claps dreadfull Ordynes upon them and enaues what is due to the treaſon of ſuch diſperate Villaines; that No one hereafter ſhould move either the ſame or Peopple to mitigate their penaſtine whome he yondemnes; yet he cutteth off evē hope; which alone is wont to be the comfort of men in misery. Besides, he orders, that their goods be conſiſtained, hirerent they life to the exēcutors, which budeth cutt off, the bad with the p[ro]ue, and por[er] many maner formidors by fiddys and vandis, and all the penaſtines of their vtilanies; wherefore there may be the ſame dooſet over baſilmen in this life; those in mortal times doo call them ſome ſuch penaſtines and ordynances for the wicked in Hell, because it ſeems they were of judgement, That if those were remo-

removed, death it self were not to be
dreaded.

9. Now, my Lords, I see,
what it makes for my interest, if
you shall follow Cæsar's Vote,
seeing he has stood that course
which is counted popular in the
State; perchance I shall have less
reason to dread the insults of the
People, he being the Author and
Perswader of this Resolution. If
you shall choose the other, I do
not know, whether I shall have
any farther trouble at all. But
yet let the advantage of the State
prevail over the Considerations of
my private dangers. For we have
from C. Cæsar as his own dignity
and the honour of his Ancestors
required, this his Vote as an Ho-
stage of his perpetual good affe-
ction to the State. It is to be
discerned, what difference there is,
between the vanity of Dema-
gogues

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gogues and a mind truly popular,
seeking the safety of the People.

10. I see some body of these
that would be counted popular,
absent, that they may not pass Sen-
tence on Roman Citizens in good
time. The same person both the
other day committed *Cetegus* and
P. Lentulus, Roman Citizens, to
prison, and voted a Thanksgiving
for me, and yesterday highly re-
warded the Informers. Now,
none can question what he, who
has voted imprisonment to the
Malefactor, thanks to the Judge,
reward to the Informer, judges
concerning the whole case and bu-
fulness. But now *C. Caesar* con-
ceives, The Sempronian Act was
made concerning Roman Citizens,
whereas he, that is an Enemy to the
State, can by no means be a Citizen.
In a word, that, The very Maker
of the Sempronian Act, by Order
of

against CATILINE.

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of the People was executed for his Treason. He too, does not think, that, Lentulus the Provinial, and the great Corrupter of the People, having so bitterly and cruelly plotted the subversion of the State, and the destruction of the City, can be called popular. Therefore like a soft and good natured man, he sticks not to commit P. Lentulus to everlasting Chains and darkness and endes for the future, That no one, may vaunt himself in the release of his punishment, and come to be popular to the ruin of the State. He farther adds, The Confiscation of their Goods, that the want and beggary of the body may follow all the torments of the soul.

14. Wherefore, whether you shall conclude upon this, you will furnish me with a Companion to the Assembly, that is Beloved and Making with the Roman Peo-

The Fourth Oration

ple, or, if you shall follow that other, Vote of *Silence*, you will easily justify me and your selves from any aspersion of Cruelty, and I shall have it granted that that was far the gentler Cause. Although, my Lords, what Cruelty can there be in punishing the Inhumanity of so great Treason. Now I judge as I am sensible of the nature of the fact; for so may you and I long enjoy the quiet of the State, as my earnestness in this case does not proceed from any bitterness of spirit: (for who can be milder than I?) but from a kind of singular tenderness and compassion. For me thinks I see this City, the light of the whole world, and the Citadel of all Nations of a sudden sinking in one Conflagration: I see in my mind my Countrey buried, heaps of Citizens, miserable and unburied,

the

the Look of *Cethegus*, and his
rage swaggering in your Flaptooth
passes before my eyes.

¶ 2. But when I consider *Lentulus*, upon the Throne, as himself confessed, that he expected by Prophesies, this *Gabinius* his Courtier clad in Purple, *Catiline* come with his Army; then I dread the shrieks of honest Women, and the flight of Virgins and Boys; and the hating of Vestal Priestesses; now because these things seem to me miserable and pitiful in the Excess; therefore I shew my self severe and earnest against those, who designed to accomplish them. For I put the case, if any Master of a Family having had his Children dashed in pieces by his Servant, his Wife killed, and his House burnt should not inflict a most sore punishment upon the Slave, were he to be thought

The Fourth Oration

gentle and merciful; or a most inhumane and cruel creature? In truth I should think him hard-hearted and senseless, that should not ease his own grief and torment, with the grief and torment of the Malefactor. So we towards those men, which would murder us, our Wives, and our Children, who endeavoured to raze the particular House of every one of us, and this General Seat of the Empire, who attempted to place the Nation of the Allobroges, in the ruins of this City, and in the ashes of the Consumed Empire. If we shall be most eager, we shall be accounted merciful; if we shall be slack, we must undergo the infamy of the greatest Cruelty, in the destruction of our Country and Countrymen.

130 Unless perchance, (f) E. (f) L.C.
 Caesar, a most valiant and well-af-<sup>ter before he
 feated</sup> Patriot might be thought ^{have his}
 the other day by any one some ^{his} ^{Plot against}
 what cruel; when he said his Bro- <sup>made a Pre-
 ther in Law, the Husband of his</sup>
 own (g) Sister, a most virtuous ^{face to anguise}
 Lady, when he was there present ^{his Alliance,}
 and in hearing, ^{and shew by}
 when he further said, that, <sup>was not un-
 His Grandfather was slain by the Order</sup>
 of the Consul, and his young Son ^{sensible of}
 Ambassador from the Father, ^{his Sisters}
 executed in the Prison, whose action ^{calamity,}
 how far short came it of this? ^{though bound}
 What Plot was there laid to con- ^{in duty to}
 found the Common wealth? (h) ^{under the}
 A corrupt humor of profuseness <sup>publick safe-
 ty.</sup>

(g) Julia
 the Aunt of
 C. Caesar
 and Relict of
 M. Antonius
 Criticus, the
 son of M.
 Was Antony the
 Orator and
 father of M. Antony the Triumvir, afterwards married P.
 Lepidus. Plutarch notes that the execution of him was the
 ground of that deep gudge which was in M. Antony ever af-
 ter, and at last cost fully his life.

(h) C. Gracchus his Laws were to give the Soldiers
 Cloaths over and above Pay, to distribute Corn amongst the
 Poor by Tickets constantly, to divide Lands of Conquest by
 way

way of Plantations. To give all Italians equal Voices with the Romans in choice of Magistrates, to appoint an equal number of Knights to be Judges, as was before of Senators only. To make it punishable if any magistrate should put a Roman Citizen to death uncondemn'd, that is, without a particular Order from the general Assembly of the People; and a seventh to limit the age of being press'd to the Wars to 37 years and upward.

Now at that time the Grandfather of this *Lentulus*, an honourable person, in Arms pursued *Crassus*, and then received in his Body a sore hurt, that the Majesty of the State might in no point receive abatement. This here present to subvert the foundations of the State, called in the Gauls, raised the Slaves, invited *Catiline*, allotted us to be assassinated by *Cethegus*, the other Citizens to be murdered by *Gabinius*, the City to be set a fire by *Cassius*, all Italy to be laid wast and plundered by *Catiline*,

tilme. You may be timorous, I warrant you, lest in so barbarous and unnatural a Treason you may be thought to have passed too severe a Sentence, when ye ought much rather to dread least by remissness of punishment you should be rather judged cruel to your Countrey, than by severity of Execution, too vigorous towards its most bitter Enemies.

14. But, my Lords, I cannot conceal what I hear boldly spoken; for words are given out, which are come to my ears, of some as would seem to fear my having strength enough to put in execution what you shall this day enact. All things are provided, ready, and concluded upon, my Lords, both by my great care and diligence, as also by the far greater forwardness of the Roman People to retain their Empire, and preserve

(i) There serve their common fortunes: All had been a men of all ranks, nay of all ages long contest are here: The Market Place is from the times of the full; all the Avenues of this House Gracchi be- and Temple are full: For since the tween the Senate and Knights a- foundation of the City, this is the bout being Judges. The only case has arrived, wherein all Sempronian Law admis- persons are of one and the same ted the Knights, this mind, excepting those who seeing continu'd themselves must perish, choose rather to pull down all than to fall alone.

15. These men I am willing to exclude and separate; for neither on the Senators only. do I reckon them in the number of These prov'd bad Citizens, but of most despe- very corrupt; rate Enemies. But the rest now afterwards the Aretelian Law made by concourse, with what earnestness, Aur. Cotta, with what courage, do they con- divided the power equal- spire to the common honour and ly between the Senators, safety? (i) What do I mention the Knights, and the Commissioners of the Treasury as Wars.

here

here the Roman Knights, that so render to you in supremacy of Order and Counsel, as that in good affections to their Country, they contend with you; whom after many years dissention this day and this Cause joyns to us, having reduced them to an agreement and unity with our Order, which Conjunction consummated in my Consulship, if we shall hold steadily in the Common-wealth I assure you, no civil and home-bred mischief shall hereafter accrue to any part of the State. I see the Commissioners of the Treasury, most courageous persons; and also all the Clerks have flocked hither with the like affection to defend the State, whom this day having casually drawn to the Treasury, I see to be turned from attendance upon their Lot to the Common Safety. All the multitude of
Free-

Freedmen ~~exists~~, ^{and} even of the
meanest ~~exists~~, ^{and} no ~~exists~~ or ~~exists~~
but ~~exists~~. For who is there, to whom
these Temples, the very face of
the City, possession of Liberty,
is a word, this very light, and
this common ground of his Coun-
try,

(k) The Se-
nators were
omitted in
the begin-
ning of this
Enumerati-
on, as being
there present,
so and before
whom he
spoke, and
so unnecessa-
ry to be men-
tion'd. Yet
the Fact on
that secretly
feared Ca-
tiline, was
so great in
the House,
that he sorely
taxes them,
though ob-
liguely, in
this passage.

It is worth
the while, my Lords, to observe
the Factions of the Freedmen, who
having by their industry pur-
chased the fortune of the City, judge
this in truth to be their own Coun-
try. Whereas (k) some born here,
and born in the highest rank, have
not judged it their Country, but
an Enemies City. But why do I
mention men of this rank, whom
their private fortunes, whom the
Common State, whom lastly,
that liberty which is most sweet,
has raised to defend the safety of
their Country? There is no
Slave

Slave, that is but in a tolerable condition of service; but dreads, but desires to withstand the audaciousness of desperate Citizens, but contributes as much as he dares, and as much as he can, to the common endeavour after safety.

17. Wherefore, if what hath been said, do chance to weigh with any of you, that a certain Pimp of *Lentulus's*, bustles about the Shops, hoping that the minds of indigent and simple men may be wrought upon with money; such a thing indeed was set on foot, and attempted; but there were none found so much either in fortune miserable, or in Principles debauched, but desired that very (l) place of his Stall and work, and daily earnings, (m) but his bare lodging and bed, (n) nay, but the very idle course of their life, to be in safety: yes, far the greatest

(1) Tradesmen and Shop-keepers.

(m) Journeymen and Labourers.

(n) Loyters and Beggars.

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greatest part of Shop-keepers, &c
is truth (for it should rather be
so said) that whole Rank is very
fond of peace; for all their Tools,
all their day-labour and gain is sup-
ported by the populousness of the
Towns, and cherished by peace;
whose gain, if it be impaired at
the Shutting up of their Shops,
what would become of it, at the
burning of them?

18. Which things being so, my
Lords, you do not want the
Guards of the Roman People,
look to it, that ye be not thought
wanting to the People of Rom:.
You have a Consul reserved from
many dangers and plots, and from
the midst of death; not for his
own life, but for your safety: All
Ranks do conspire in mind, affec-
tion, endeavour, courage and
voice, to preserve the State:
The common Countrey, beset
with

against CATILINE.

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with Fire-brands, and the Weapons of the unnatural Conspiracy, humbly holds forth her hand to you : To you commands her self, to you the life of all her Citizens, to you the Tower and Capitol, to you the Altars of the Household Gods, to you the continual and everlasting Fire of (o) Vesta ; to you all the Temples and Oratories of the Gods ; to you the Battlements and Houses of the City. Besides, this day you must pass judgment upon your own Lives, the Breath of your Wives and Children, the Fortunes of all, your Houses and Heaths.

You have a Leader, regarding you, forgetting himself, an opportunity not always given. You have all Ranks, all Men, all the Roman People, which in a Civil Case we now first behold in one and the same mind. Consider,

(o) There was no Image of Vesta, but a fire burning constantly on the Altar, and kept by Virgins. A Custom that seems to have been derived from the Chaldeans, who worship Fire.

der; how one Night has almost confounded an Empire, founded with what Labours? A liberty established upon what Valour? Fortunes improved and raised, by what bounty of the Gods? That such a thing may never hereafter be not only effected, but contrived, you must this day provide. Nor have I spoken all this to press you, who in your affections do almost out-run me: but that my voice, which ought to be leading in the Government, may appear to have discharged the duty of a Consul.

20. Now before I come home to my Vote, I'll premise a word concerning my self. I see that I have drawn upon my self so great a multitude of Enemies as is the Party of the Conspirators, which you perceive to be very great; but I judge to be base and weak, contemptible

temptable and lost. But if in any time to come that Party, headed by the fury and treachery of any person, shall come to be more prevalent than your Honour and that of the State; yet I shall never repent, my Lords, of my Actions and Counsels: For *Death*, with which perchance they menace me, is appointed for all; but so great a praise of life, as you by your Acts have honoured me with; no one has attained to: For, ye have voted to all others alwayes Thanks for having *well-served*; but to me alone, for having *preserv'd* the State.

21. Let that *Scipio* be renowned, by whose Conduct and Valour *Hannibal* was obliged to face about into *Africa* and quit *Italy*: Let the other *Africanus* be adorned with excellent praise, who razed two Cities most incensed a-

gainst this Empire, Carthage and Numantia. Let *Lv. Paulus* be accounted an extraordinary person, whose Chariot, the office most puissant and noble King *Perse* honoured: Let *Marius* be in eternal renown, who freed Italy from Siege and the fear of Bondage: Let *Pompey* be advanced beyond them all, whose actions and gallantries are contained in the same Countreys and Bounds, as the course of the Sun: There will be in truth amidst the praises of these persons, some room for our Glory's suckles perchance it (p) be more to open us Provinces, whither we may escape; than to look that they that are absent, may have a place, whither they may bring up return victorious.

a Third Tri-

umph, had not Tully oblig'd the State by preserving a place wherein he might triumph; for it might be suppos'd that this Oration was finish'd afterwards, when publish'd by Tully.

22. Although in one point the Condition of a Foreign Victory is better than that of a Domestical one; because Outlandish Enemies either are subdued and brought into bondage, or reconciled, and judge themselves obliged by that favour. But they which from the Rank of Citizens, depraved by some false Principle, are once turned Enemies to their Country, when you have put them by their mischievous intentions, you can neither by Force restrain, nor by any kindness reconcile: Wherefore I see I have entred into an implacable quartel with revolted Citizens, which yet I have good confidence may be by your and all honest mens assistance, and throw the memory of those great dangers, which shall always stick not onely in this people, which has been preserved, but also in

the discourses and minds of all Nations, fairly beaten off from me and mine. Nor indeed shall there ever be found any so great power which can infringe and shake the Union that is between you and the Roman Knights, and such an harmony of all the well-affected.

23. Which things being so, my Lords, instead of a Generalship of an Army, of a Government, which I have neglected; Instead of a Triumph and other Badges of Praise, which have been slighted by me, in regard of the Cities and your preservation: Instead of Clients and Provincial Friendships, which yet with my Estate in Town, I do with no less labour support than purchase: Instead therefore of all these things, and in reward of my singular affections towards you, and for this diligence, which ye behold in preserving the State,

I require nothing more of you, (p) two
 but the remembrance of this time ^{18. rs after}
 and my whole Consulship, which, ^{Tully was}
 while it shall continue fixed in ^{banish'd up-}
 your minds, I shall judge my self ^{on the score}
 incircled with a most impenetrable ^{of this ha-}
 wall. But if the (p) violence of ^{viving execu-}
 of the ill-affected, shall deceive ^{tated the Con-}
 and over-match my expectation, I ^{spirators, by}
 commend to you my little (q) Son, ^{P. Clodius;}
 who assuredly shall have guard ^{and eighteen}
 enough, not onely for preservati- ^{years after}
 on, but also for honour, if ye ^{had his Head}
 shall remember, that he is his Son, ^{and Hands}
 who has alone at his own peril pre- ^{cut off by the}
 served the whole State. ^{Son-in law}
^{of P. Len-}
^{tulus, M. An-}
^{tony.}

(q) Octa-
 vius Augu-
 stus accord-
 ingly in pro-

cess of time took M. Tullius, Cicero's son, to be his Col-
 league in the Consulship, and gratifi'd him with liberty to
 throw down all the Statues of M. Antony, and to enact that
 none of the Family of the Antonies should ever after be nam'd
 Mark.

24. Wherefore, My Lords,
 Resolve cautiously, as ye have be-
 gun, and stoutly, concerning your
 own

own and the Roman Peoples Being,
that lies at Stake, concerning your
Wives and Children, concerning
your Temples and Religious Places,
concerning the Houses and Mansions
of the whole City, concerning Em-
pire and Liberty, concerning the
Safety of Italy, and concerning the
whole Common-wealth; for ye have
a Consul, who shall never dispute to
follow your Orders, and is able,
whatsoever you shall decree, as long
as he shall live, to defend and by his
own interest maintain.

F F N I S.

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